The German Tribune

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Aachen meeting is European landmark

At the height of the oil crisis in early 1974, Francois-Xavier Orotoli, French president of the EEC Commission in Brussels, made what sounded like a desperate appeal.

"Europe," he wrote "is undergoing a crisis of confidence, a crisis of will and a crisis of common sense.

"The danger is so great that the Commission feels obliged in all solemnity to appeal to heads of state and government for action to back up verbal commitments to European integration."

There could no longer even be said to be the beginnings of a consistent European integration policy. The December 1973 Copenhagen summit of EEC heads of government had proved a fiasco.

Aims proclaimed in fine words, such as European union, were beginning to look absurd. With an economic crisis looming, the demise of the Connon Market seemed a certainty.

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In retrospect M. Ortoli's appeal seems to have proved miraculously effective. But miracles geneally test the patience of the waiting multitudes before happening, and this was no exception.

Yet the European Community does seem to have reawakened like a giant refreshed, calling on voters all over the EEC to vote in direct elections to the European Parliament.

It has taken to assuming responsibility and voicing viewpoints in international affairs, be it by a development aid programme geneally acknowledged as worthy of emulation, or in detente, at the European security conference or the UN.

It has grown so popular that in Western Europe only Scandinavia has not yet succumbed to its charms.

What is more, the Common Market is gradually gaining the status of an accepted platform for cooperation with the aid of which governments hope to ease their economic and social burdens.

The feeling of solitary splendour may tickle the fancy but it is somewhat misleading. In a number of EEC capitals it seems gradually to be yielding to an awareness of weakness that can only be overcome by a united stand.

The improvement began two years ago when President Giscard d'Estaing reshuffled his Cainet and appointed Raymond Barre as premier in place of Jacques Chirac, no lover of Europe.

Only a decade ago M. Barre was not only an advocate of European integration; he was a vice-president of the EEC Commission, so the change in atmosphere was not coincidental.

The meeting between President Giscard d'Estaing and Chancellor Schmidt in Aachen is a landmark in a development in which France and Germany have grown increasingly aware of their common political interests.

They realise that Western Europe cannot make common cause unless Paris and Bonn join forces, and that unless Western Europe shares a sense of joint power it will not, in the long run, stand the slightest chance of holding its own in competition, especially economic, with the United States and Japan, the other two key nations of the West.

Helmut Schmidt deliberately chose Aachen as the venue: Aachen, the city of Charlemagne, an emperor whom both Germans and French claim as their own.

It was the first Franco-German summit concerned almost entirely with a European project, the European Monetary System, which is the brainchild of Giscard and Schmidt and an outstanding political achievement.

The Nine, Bonn's government spokesman diplomatically noted in Aachen, cannot make common cause unless France and Germany are agreed. But Paris and Bonn are no substitute for the EEC as a whole.

This reminder was evidently aimed in Britain's direction. In recent years Britain, the third senior partner in the European Community, has gained a reputation as the villain, so infrequent have disputes between France and Germany become.



President Giscard d'Estaing of France and Chancellor Helmut Schmidt in Aachen to discuss a European project, the European Monetary System. (Photo: Sven Simon)

But the French and German leaders' monetary plans will nonetheless exclude Whitehall from further progress towards European integration, for the time being at least.

Had M. Giscard d'Estaing and Herr Schmidt wanted to avoid this consequence they would not have been so anxious to go ahead with their monetary project.

The Dutch too, traditionally associated with Britain, feel let down by the Chancellor, regarding the French as somewhat unreliable in monetary matters.

Holland reckons it has remained strictly loyal to the Snake, although it has not always been easy, and Herr Schmidt is now foolhardily risking the future of what is basically a deutschemark bloc.

As long as Britain and Holland are unable to follow, France and Germany will be unable to build the united Europe they have in mind.

It may be tempting to go it alone but it is no alternative to joint, if slower, progress. Going it alone would split Europe down the middle. Let us hope Aachen does not mark the beginning of a split.

Winfried Munster

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 18 September 1978)

Scheel visit to Australia

President Walter Scheel is to visit Australia from 23 to 27 October, the first German head of state to do so. The dates were confirmed by Australian Premier Malcolm Fraser on 17 September.

President Scheel, accompanied by his wife Mildred, has taken up an invitation extended by Australian Governor-General Sir Zelman Cowen.

The Bonn delegation will include leading representatives of government, industry, the trade unions and the farming community.

AFP

(Die Welt, 18 September 1978)

Nine call for more UN peace-keeping help

The Nine are to submit to the next UN General Assembly a resolution calling on members to lend greater support to peace-keeping moves in crisis areas of the kind for which the Secretary-General has assumed responsibility in the past.

The EEC envisages some kind of accountability, with UN members being required to itemise their contribution towards current peace-keeping moves.

UN members are also to extend special training of troops for peace-keeping police roles. This is one of the most interesting aspects of the resolution, given Foreign Minister Genscher's statement that Bonn too would be more willing to take part in peace-keeping moves.

Always assuming the resolution were approved at the UN, would Bonn then feel obliged to introduce legislation enabling it to second Bundeswehr units for duty with UN peace-keeping forces?

In the past Bonn's contribution to such missions has been mainly financial, although it has also supplied military equipment on occasion and placed Luftwaffe transport at the UN's disposal.

UN Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim has welcomed Bonn's past contribution as both substantial and useful. Last spring he also noted that there was no shortage of countries willing to second troops to UN peace-keeping missions.

Smaller UN members seem particularly keen to second troops. They even train units specially for UN service, although attention is seldom drawn to this.

So an appeal to UN members to step up commitments in this sector would hardly seem to be an urgent issue. Is Bonn merely promoting a climate of opinion in which German participation would appear a matter of course?

Were the Bundeswehr to take part directly in UN peace-keeping missions, Bonn might well feel it had finally gained full acceptance at the UN and was no longer viewed with misgivings. It looks very much as though this is what Bonn has in mind.

(Der Tagesspiegel, 15 September 1978)

■ FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Foreign policy allegations threaten consensus

Süddeutsche Zeitung

Is the United States really alarmed at the influence on Bonn's foreign policy of SPD general secretary Egon Bahr, whose views are allegedly very different from those openly stated by Chancellor Schmidt and Foreign Minister Genscher?

Before worrying about the spectre of a counter-foreign policy in Bonn, Washington might do worse than to put its own house in order.

Who determines US foreign policy? President Carter, Secretary of State Vance or National Security Adviser Brzezinski? No-one knows for certain, except that Dr Brzezinski seems to be in a back seat for the time being.

Brzezinski was most worried about the course Bonn's foreign policy seemed to be taking. The signs are that he is now more worried about US foreign policy.

This is not to say that *no* attention need be paid to the tales of high-ranking traitors in Bonn told by Rumanian defector General Ion Pacepa.

They may turn out to be unsubstantiated, but they are based on a historical fact dating back to the early days of the Federal Republic when views differed on whether Bonn should give priority to ties with the West or to reunification.

Social Democrats were long suspected of preferring a reunited, albeit neutral Germany to a Federal Republic fully integrated within the Western alliance.

What is more, until Herbert Wehner led the SPD firmly into the pro-Western ranks such suspicions proved an effective campaign argument at election time because they were not entirely without foundation.

The Opposition must find almost irresistible the temptation to accuse the Social Democrats of renewed unreliability in their commitment to Nato.

Unlike the Social Democrats 20 years ago, the current Bonn Opposition lacks a Herbert Wehner to persuade it to abandon its misgivings about *Ostpolitik*, or closer ties with Eastern Europe.

Franz Josef Strauss is the Opposition leader whose position most closely corresponds to Herr Wehner's.

He spoke to the Bundestag after talks with Mr Brezhnev in Bonn last May, but did not go so far as to endorse *Ostpolitik* wholeheartedly, so this is as far as the comparison goes.

Mind you, Herr Strauss has chosen not to join in the shadow-boxing about alleged plans drawn up by Herr Bahr for a Bonn withdrawal from Nato.

Is the mercurial Bavarian holding fire because the interview with Mr Brezhnev is still fresh in his mind, or because he knows allegations levelled at Herr Bahr will soon vanish.

Opposition allegations of SPD unreliability may well run out of steam before long. They are certainly unlikely to be upheld by backing from abroad (apart from observers perenially uneasy at the prospect of German reunification or neutrality).

But this anxiety perturbs neither President Carter, President Giscard d'Estaing nor Prime Minister Callaghan,

Mr Carter until recently seemed hellbent on confrontation with Moscow, but now seems keener on cooperation. As for M. Giscard d'Estaing, he, like Herr Schmidt, has never been enthusiastic about Mr Carter's skirmishes with the Soviet Union. Their aim and outcome were too uncertain.

Yet the Bonn Opposition stands to derive limited benefit from shadow-boxing on foreign policy. It will merely divert attention from the Opposition's failure to reach a uniform viewpoint on *Ostpolitik*.

In this respect the shadow-boxing may not even disturb Chancellor Schmidt. This, after all, is a point on which he can take the Opposition to task.

There is every sign that he intends to do so by having the Bundestag ratify the long-term trade agreement he concluded with President Brezhnev last May.

He is under no constitutional obligation to do so, and in foreign policy terms the move might well be open to misunderstanding. But a ratification debate would spotlight disunity in the Opposition's ranks.

It would, however, intensify pressure on the Opposition to adopt an aggressive posture, as Foreign Minister Genscher, who has both legal and political misgivings, will no doubt have considered.

In foreign policy terms, Bonn stands to lose by a party-political debate along the lines of "if you call my loyalty to the West into question, all I can say is that your *Ostpolitik* is two-faced."

It would jeopardise the consensus that is indispensable in foreign policy and was at least beginning to take shape. It would also have the very effect it was ostensibly trying to avoid, calling into question Bonn's loyalty to alliance and treaty commitments. An apparent debate of this kind would also be foolhardy because both West- and *Ostpolitik* have long since peaked. The Federal Republic attained political majority some time ago; not every difference of opinion with Washington must promptly be interpreted as an attempt at disloyalty.

The decision not to go ahead with the neutron bomb was not reached because Helmut Schmidt did not support the project wholeheartedly, for instance.

It was taken because President Carter has an overriding interest in coming to terms with Moscow. So Dr Brzezinski was too quick off the mark in accusing Bonn of voluntary neutralisation.

The Chancellor is entirely above suspicion on this point, and the same is true, of neutralisation plans allegedly *dreamt up by sources close to him*.

What is true is that a number of advocates of Bonn's *Ostpolitik* are disappointed that so little has so far come of it. They include Egon Bahr, to judge by his most recent interview with *Der Spiegel* the Hamburg news magazine.

In it he projects *Ostpolitik* beyond the turn of the century, placing on it expectations it cannot by any stretch of the imagination be said to warrant,

Yet Egon Bahr is no dreamer. He is merely engaging in speculation, as he was ten years ago when he drafted the

Continued on page 3

Croate exile for trial in Germany

Bonn stands accused of refusing to extradite to Yugoslavia a trio of Croatian émigrés, but in the case of two of the three, Dragoja and Milicovic, extradition proceedings were disallowed by a Frankfurt court in early August.

There is no further right of appeal, so the Bonn government has no further say in the matter. It cannot hand the two men over to the Yugoslav authorities. Extradition proceedings have been thrown out of court,

But Bonn did have a say in the case of Stjepan Bilandzic, a Cologne court having ruled that extradition was permissible. Bilandzic promptly appealed to the Federal Constitutional Court in Karlsruhe.

Had the Cologne ruling been upheld, Bonn would have had to reach a political decision whether to extradite or not.

So Bonn was under no pressure. It could afford to wait and see. If Karlsruhe ruled that extradition was not permissible, the government could have pointed out that the judiciary was independent and Bonn could not override the courts.

If Bilandzic's appeal had failed, Bonn could have taken whatever course it considered politically advisable.

But instead it has chosen to jump the gun and rule that Bilandzic will not be extradited because he must first stand trial in criminal proceedings in Germany.

Is this a reason or is it a pretext? Bonn probably wanted *to forestall* a wave of protest against extradition which would, firstly, have pre-empted the government's freedom of decision and, secondly, have made relations between Bonn and Belgrade more difficult.

The Yugoslav authorities were told beforehand and reassured by Bonn that more energetic moves are to be undertaken against Yugoslav terrorists in Germany.

What will Yugoslavia now do with the four German terrorists in custody in Belgrade?

Will it allow them to decamp into the Middle East, as it has done on four or five previous occasions? Or will it extradite them?

What, for that matter, about the third option? Brigitte Mohnhaupt and the other three German terrorists could be brought to trial in Yugoslavia in the same manner as Stjepan Bilandzic is being prosecuted in the Federal Republic.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 14 September 1978)

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Brand calls for wider Europarliament powers

Social Democrats, says Willy Brandt, want to see the European Parliament gain wider powers to check on the Eurocrats in Brussels, decide on EEC expenditure and to initiate Common Market legislation of its own.

SPD chairman Brandt outlined the Social Democratic manifesto for the first direct elections to the European Parliament next June in Bonn on 13 September.

The SPD, he said, would prefer the campaign not to descend to the level of destructive polarisation.

He dismissed as foolish the remark by Rainer Barzel, a former shadow Chancellor, that the aim of the campaign must be to prevent the formation of a Popular Front in Europe.

Willy Brandt would like to see Europe as the common platform on which European democrats of all hues engage in fair competition.

The SPD manifesto was drawn up by Social Democratic European affairs specialist Bruno Friedrich and is to be submitted to an extraordinary party conference in Cologne in December.

In it the Social Democrats advocate a forward-looking EEC structural policy designed to restore full employment.

They also advocate framework planning by the Common Market to link public and private investment. Before embarking on large-scale investment programmes, companies are to be required to submit details to Brussels.

The SPD also calls for a 35-hour week all over the Common Market. It welcomes the monetary system due to be introduced next year but adds that the economies of weaker member-states must be given a specific prior boost.

Social Democrats would also like to see an EEC human rights charter ratified. In the past individual rights have applied chiefly to economic activity.

The EEC charter would guarantee all EEC nationals everywhere in the Community the basic rights they enjoy in their own countries.

In particular, the SPD would like to see all EEC nationals resident in other member-countries entitled to vote in local government elections and to stand for election. They ought also to qualify for public office all over the Common Market.

The SPD's next step in preparation for the European elections was taken on 17 September in Duisburg, where Nort Rhine-Westphalian Social Democrats nominated their candidates for the national slate.

They included Willy Brandt, who hoped the first 40 candidates on the SPD slate would include ten women. With 81 European MPs to be elected, the SPD can be sure its first 40 will stand a fair chance of election.

Wolfgang Mauersberg

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 14 September 1978)

■ HOME AFFAIRS

Strauss sends out coded messages on fourth party

Süddeutsche Zeitung

The verbal cascades which CSU chairman Franz Strauss has been pouring out about his fourth party project are like different coded messages sent to his own party, the CDU and the electorale. Each address has its own code with which to interpret Strauss's secret language.

The pictorial force of Strauss's language is, as usual, overwhelming. After a meeting of the CSU party executive in Munich, Strauss said he was not running around with the idea of a fourth party like Aladdin with the magic lamp. The CSU had no "narrow-minded ambitions" in this direction.

The question of what formation the union parties would line up in at the next general election was a "permanent subject of interest" and the results of the Land elections and the discussions on them would be "followed with interest."

On another occasion the CSU chairman said the "ideal situation" would be complete cooperation with the CDU, but the question remained: what would happen if the two sister parties held different views on tactics? Strauss left the matter open.

This all sounds like the result of a learning process in which Strauss has become more cautious about the idea of a fourth party (which amounts to the CSU putting up candidates throughout the country and not just in Bavaria). Strauss wants to *rein in the firebrands in* his party who would like to see a decision immediately after the Hesse election on 8 October.

He does not want the electorate's expectations to be too high. The results of the election may make discussion of a fourth party irrelevant and after the Bavarian Land election the following week, the CSU would probably have no pressing need to worry about a change of the political landscape with Strauss as Bavarian Prime Minister.

Strauss and his observers in the CSU, who are constantly registering and analysing the movements of the CDU, believe there are moves in the CDU against the fourth party. The CSU proposal that in the next general election the parties should present Land lists in each other's areas was greeted with a sigh of relief by some CDU politicians. They only noticed the snag when they looked at it more closely.

As one CDU man put it, the proposal is nothing but a scheme for increasing CSU mandates, mainly at the expense of the CDU. Strauss remarked that all reforms arouse opposition because they change the status quo.

During the summer recess the CDU was severely shaken, probably more so than was apparent to outsiders, by the Filbinger affair, its solution and events connected with indignation among CDU *members and voters about Norbert* Blüm, who made matters worse by awkwardness in explaining his remarks on concentration camp guards and frontline soldiers.

The CSU concludes that all these factors have led to a strong wish for unity within the CDU; in other words the unstable CDU has no desire for a dispute with its Bavarian sister party.

Opposition to the CSU proposals within the CDU leadership has hardened and the party does not consider the proposals worthy of serious discussion. Strauss's remark that success should be sought by "legitimate means" shows that he has understood CDU objections to certain methods of ahcieving a majority.

For some time the CSU used the argument that if the two parties split they would get "overhang seats" in some Länder. It realised that the electoral cake cannot be made larger at will. But this all sounds suspiciously like manipulation.

There are more important arguments than this against a fourth party within the CSU at the moment. National political developments are clearly influenced by two main factors: the increasing respect for Chancellor Schmidt even beyond party affiliations and the polls which say that the CDU/CSU would get 50 per cent of the votes in an election now.

Strauss, who is fond of saying that he thinks in historical dimensions, would in this situation have to take upon himself the risk of splitting the union and failing to achieve the gaol. The wish to achieve a majority in this way only makes sense if one wants to change the electoral system later.

Bold interpreters of Strauss's latest remarks say that he is afraid to do this, which is why he is preparing a position into which he can retreat if need be.

It is important here to warn against wishful thinking and illusions. The CSU is too fond of the idea of becoming a national party to give it up lightly. The only safe prediction at the moment is that the party will not agree to a fourth party along the lines of the CSU proposals. The CSU, if it runs true to form, will think of something else, unless Strauss, as Bavarian Prime Minister, loses the wish to become Chancellor.

Klaus Dreher.

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 13 September 1978)

Helmut Schmidt tops SPD's popularity poll

The argument that Chancellor Schmidt is alienated from his party is a common error. It is correct that some party officials, MPs and delegates to the party conference have little time for Schmidt, but the SPD has 1,006,316 members and among them no-one ranks higher than Chancellor Schmidt -- not even father figure Willy Brandt or "sledgehammer" Herbert Wehner.

This is demonstrated by a poll of the *Institute of Applied Social Science (Infas)* in Bonn Bad-Godesberg carried out for the SPD party executive and completed in February of this year. It has been kept in a safe in the Erich Ollenhauer House and has not been published.

The pollsters asked SPD members whether they agreed with the overall policies of Helmut Schmidt. They had to award points ranging from minus five to plus five. Schmidt got plus 3.5, Willy Brandt plus 3.4 and Herbert Wehner only plus 2.8.

Among party officials the results were different. Brandt and Wehner both got plus 3.4, whereas Schmidt only got plus 3.3.

Asked if they agreed with the policies of the SPD/FDP government, party members gave Helmut Schmidt plus 2.7, whereas party officials gave him 2.6.

The result certainly came as a surprise, even to those familiar with the SPD. Party officials have closer contact with ordinary party members and so their chances of influencing them are greater. Jokes about Schmidt are usually passed on to party members by party officials.

The fact that party officials and left wing Bundestag MPs such as Manfred Coppik have not managed to impose their hostile view of Schmidt on the party cannot only be explained by the fact that the majority of the party approve of Schmidt's policies.

According to the Infas poll, more than 60 per cent of party members get their information about their own party's policies mainly from newspapers and television. Less than ten per cent get it from talks with officials. The influence of party officials is, therefore not as great as one might at first suppose.

Another factor could explain the broad support for Schmidt within the party: only one per cent want to see more revolutionary ideas.

In its membership the SPD is no longer the working class party it once was. According to Infas, it is the party of the middle classes and social risers, both terms which can be applied to deputy chairman Helmut Schmidt.

Meinhardt Graf v. Nayhauss

(Die Welt, 8 September 1978)

The best-attended pre-election political meeting to date in the run-up to the Hesse election was that held in Frankfurt by the Green Action for the Future party founded by former CDU MP Herbert Gruhl. Which of the major political parties could charge three deutschemarks and still get 700 to turn up?

All claims that the ecologists are lunatics and dreamers, that the SPD is the best environmental party, that the Hesse CDU (according to Dregger), is the best protest party, and that the FDP with its environmental programme is the first to warn of dangers of pollution have not been able to push the ecological parties out of the limelight.

Green Action shows its strengh

There is no denying the greater consciousness of the environment and the dangers to it and that this consciousness has led to a demand for action. Gruhl and zoologist Bernhard Grzimek are the prophets. They cannot be discredited by the remark that their demands are in part identical with those of Daniel Cohn-Bendit.

The protest campaigns against atomic power stations, the moves to save forests, the anti-noise campaigns and the countless citizens' movements, the demonstrations against the building of new autobahns all flow together to form a new political stream.

Much is still disordered and confused. There are internal wrangles, as at the Frankfurt meeting. Yet this new political element made up of those who are appalled, confused and eager to turn back the tide is a real force. The success of the ecological parties in the Hamburg and Lower Saxony Land elections was only the beginning and not, as Hesse Prime Minister Börner has said, a more puff of wind.

The ecological parties' political concept, which amounts to cutting down on all forms of economic growth, can be attacked from many points of view. No growth at all or minus growth means at drop in the standard of living, reduction of the chances of achieving affluence and disadvantages for an industrial nation such as the Federal Republic of Germany in the competitive struggle for markets. It also means a reduction in the position of pensioners.

The ecological parties have no convincing idea of how their demands can be reconciled with the tough facts of life of an industrial society. There will always be a certain amount of dissatisfaction after every compromise. If the city of Frankfurt builds an autobahn which eliminates or considerably reduces noise for 40,000, there are still a few thousand left over who have to put up with the same problem.

The ecological parties no longer have much in common with the romantics who fought for more trees in the city or dreamt of their own home and a rose garden. There are a large number of critical people for whom the ecological question is the main determinant of how they vote. These people are not going to give up the opportunity of registering their protest at the failure of the established political parties.

Former Bonn Minister Eppler, who has long been in dispute with the Chancellor, accusing him of rigorous pragmantism and lack of perspective on the future, reckons that the ecological parties have a chance of getting into the Land parliaments. The Gruhls and the Grzimeks will be riding the green waves.

Robert Schmelzer

(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 9 September 1978)

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policy paper that laid the groundwork for Willy Brandt's *Ostpolitik*,

Speculation is not prohibited. It helps to clarify options. And if the mere idea of reunification is deemed to jeopardise the very existence of West Germany, then it is time to scrap the preamble to Basic Law, the 1949 Bonn constitution, which stipulates reunification as the country's foremost policy objective.

East Berlin's Erich Honecker would be only too happy if Bonn were to do so, but if it prefers to retain the long-term goal of reunification, it follows that the present Federal Republic is, and will continue to be, a makeshift.

Dieter Schröder

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 12 September 1978)

■ POLITICS

Berlin mayorship 'national task' says CDU candidate

After his nomination as the CDU's candidate for the post of mayor of West Berlin, Richard von Weizsäcker said he considered his candidacy a national task and a challenge.

Though this is a somewhat lofty claim to be made for a party nomination, coming from Herr von Weizsäcker it is perfectly credible.

His political opponents have therefore denied neither his qualification for the post nor his integrity; they only express doubts as to his experience.

Granted, it is hard to imagine the man who has always given priority to principles over party considerations in Bonn as the mayor of Berlin (von Weizsäcker is a member of the Bundestag). Nevertheless, there can be no doubt that von Weizsäcker will give the incumbent, the at times rather colourless Dietrich Stobbe (and perhaps the FDP as well), a good run for their money in the campaign.

But whether he will get the opportunity to prove in the Berlin Rathaus that he is the man for the job will depend on the loyalty of Berlin's CDU and its chairman, Peter Lorenz, towards the new nominee.

In any event, West Berlin's political scene has been gratifyingly enlivened by the new candidate. The Social Democrats — somewhat arthritic from governing the city over a long period — might also consider his candidacy as a challenge.

It is hard to say which weighs more: the gain for Berlin or the loss for Bonn.

Although von Weizsäcker does not intend to relinquish his Bundestag mandate — something likely to cause him some problems and make him appear as if on loan from Bonn — he will nevertheless be lost to the Bonn scene; either he achieves his aim in Berlin or he returns to Bonn politics defeated.

Essentially, Herr von Weizsäcker's CDU career on a national level has already come to a halt. He was considered a sort of specialist for minority candidatures, and following the resignation of Rainer Barzel as floor leader, the social affairs committees made him their showpiece. But his parliamentary party gave him only slightly more than one third of the votes they gave Karl Carstens.



CDU candidate for mayor of West Berlin Richard von Weizsäcker (left) gets an arm around the shoulders from the chairman of Berlin's CDU, Peter Lorenz. (Photo: dpa)

A year later, in 1974, von Weizsäcker said he would accept his party's nomination for President although he knew that he stood no chance against coalition candidate Walter Scheel.

Herr von Weizsäcker's greatest disappointment must have come when CDU Chairman Helmut Kohl told him that the following year, when the CDU-CSU would have a sure majority in the Federal Asembly (made up of Bundesrat and Bundestag) he would no longer be the nominee.

The CSU, which never voted for von Weizsäcker in internal party matters, voted his nomination at the first session of the strategy committee. Its chairman, Franz Josef Strauss, never forgave him for having approved of treaties in connection with *Ostpolitik* which the CSU opposed, and for having frequently been openly at odds with his party's position on certain matters.

Following Walther Leisler Kiep, he was the second CDU man to pay the penalty for having deviated from the party line.

This is what makes Helmut Kohl's essentially clever move problematic.

Since Norbert Blüm's comparison between front soldiers and concentration camp guards, for which he came under fire by the CSU, it has become evident that under the liberal leadership of Herr Kohl the left, or left-of-centre, wing of the CDU in Bonn is becoming weaker.

It would be wrong to call Herr von Weizsäcker a candidate chosen for want of a better man. But his move to Berlin must also be viewed as a concession to the CSU.

One could perhaps go even further and say that, on a national scale, a certain rigidity is gripping all political parties, driving into the provinces those candidates who once in a while speak off the cuff or commit the mortal sin of finding something good to say about political opponents.

But Richard von Weizsäcker's nomination must also be seen as he himself sees it: as a national task. He still has not quite defined what he means by this; but the former president of the Standing Conference of Protestant Churches (he has said many a pertinent thing about reconciliation with the East bloc and the other Germany in Protestant circles) is sure to enliven a party tradition that has become weakened in Berlin over the past few years. This tradition is based on the ideas of Jakob Kaiser, who wanted the CDU to preserve an all-German element and who foundered on the realities. He was driven from the East and stripped of all power by Konrad Adenauer.

It will be as impossible to revive the ideas of Kurt Schumacher. But it is nevertheless significant that at the moment when Egon Bahr's pondering on ways to overcome power blocs has again been picked up by the CDU, someone in its own ranks speaks of a nation once more — and without embarrassment. It will be interesting to see how this discussion will continue.

Klaus Dreher

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 11 September 1978)

CDU moving to attract new liberal element

By nominating Richard von Weizsäcker as its candidate for the office of mayor of West Berlin, the CDU has sent one of its best men to the city.

The move from Bonn to the former capital of Germany has been well thought out. Berlin Opposition leader Peter Lorenz has been a shaken man ever since his kidnapping by terrorists and Bonn's release of prisoners in exchange for his life.

Although he was popular, he was unable to convert this painfully gained sympathy into firm leadership of Berlin's weakened SPD.

When former mayor Klaus Schütz became ambassador to Israel and Dietrich Stobbe, a good and still fresh Social Democrat, replaced him, it seemed obvious that Peter Lorenz would step down fairly soon.

The nomination of von Weizsäcker is in keeping with Helmut Kohl's policy of extending the CDU range to include a liberal middle-of-the-road element.

This includes Lower Saxony's Prime Minister Albrecht, Stuttgart's mayor Manfred Rommel and Kohl's former secretary-general Kurt Biedenkopf. They all think along the same open-minded and absolutely anti-collectivist lines as Richard von Weizsäcker.

Though Biedenkopf, once Kohl's chief of staff, has become his competitor and contender for the party leadership, Helmut Kohl seems to bear him no grudge.

Herr Kohl has become a considerable attraction for various segments of FDP voters through his personnel strategy, and the FDP is in trouble anyway.

Naturally, Herr von Weizsäcker's range of tasks in Berlin goes far beyond being a mere magnet for liberal elements.

His urbanity and membership of the foreign policy elite seem to guarantee an anti-parochial attitude. West Berlin has become provincial under the Social Democratic government, and parochialism and bickering between the Public Service Union and the city fathers, crying for more subsidies, seem to be the order of the day.

If West Berlin is not to play second fiddle to East Berlin, it must have a man von Weizsäcker's calibre to look after its affairs.

Richard von Weizsäcker also has the qualities needed to deal with East Berlin and the Soviets on a scale beyond local friction. He is a committed proponent of an East-West détente in which human rights is not a mere slogan.

There, too, von Weizsäcker has the same sensitive antenna as Kohl. In fact, it was Helmut Kohl who introduced the philosophically inclined industrialist von Weizsäcker into active politics, something which has created personal ties and mutual esteem.

Robert Schmelzer

(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 11 September 1978)

Von Weizsäcker can light up Berlin politics

Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger

West Berlin's political parties have always found their candidates for Sonate posts and even for mayor from outside the city.

The governing mayor has to be more than just a good municipal politician, and Berlin is not exactly blessed with outstanding talent.

Richard von Weizsäcker, CDU Member of Parliament and deputy floor leader in Bonn, is now to bring to West Berlin the five it lacked under former CDU candidate Peter Lorenz.

Herr von Weizsäcker must have found the nomination most attractive. He has long been an unsuccessful candidate for a variety of high posts.

But this is deceptive, since his influence in Bonn does not match his reputation there.

The Berlin post, should he be elected, would enable him to engage in practical politics on a stage that he can command without having to forgo such major issues as *Deutschlandpolitik* and *Ostpolitik*.

On these issues Herr von Weizsäcker is a man who combines flexibility and determination to stick by his principles.

In any event, the incumbent, Dietrich Stobbe, will find it much harder to run against Richard von Weizsäcker in the March 1979 election than against Peter Lorenz — provided, of course, that the new CDU candidate commits himself fully in Berlin and forgoes the temptation to keep one foot in Bonn.

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 11 September 1978)

■ INTRA-GERMAN AFFAIRS

Bonn Housing Minister hears plans for East Berlin

During his four day visit to the GDR Bonn Minister of Housing Dieter Haack spent two hours with GDR Building Minister Wolfgang Junger on 11 September discussing questions of town planning, the first official discussion between Ministers from the two German states in East Berlin. Herr Haack later said that the meeting had shown that there were similar problems in building and town planning in the two states — efforts to improve the standard of flats, to make the towns more habitable and to preserve old buildings in town centres.

Bonn Minister of Housing Dieter Haack visited East Berlin recently for discussions with his fellow town planners in the German Democratic Republic.

In the room of Herr C. Peters, deputy mayor and area director of planning, there is a large map of Berlin in which the entire area west of the Brandenburg Gate is white, as if there were nothing there. When Peters and his colleagues explained their plans for Berlin, they said not a word about the western part of the city.

Of course, West Berlin did play an indirect part in these discussions. When one of Haack's colleagues asked how the town planners were going to deal with heavier car traffic in the centre of the city, he was told: "The centre is not in the middle, so the traffic does not need to flow through constantly." It is an answer which may appear illogical at first but there is something in it.

On another occasion when the importance of Alexanderplatz was being discussed a speaker made a slip of the tongue: "Here a suburban railway line and three — no, I mean two — underground lines cross over."

The first version is perfectly correct, but the third underground line is no longer accessible to those living in the east of the city: since 13 August 1961 it no longer stops at the Alexanderplatz or any other station in East Berlin. It merely connects the south of West Berlin with Wedding in the north.

There was no sigh on any of the plans and models that the town planners in the capital of the German Democratic Republic, as East Berlin is known, have coordinated their planning with developments in the west of the city.

It was indicative that a circle of skyscrapers is being built around the historical centre of the city, Friedrichstrasse and Unter den Linden. In an official talk a GDR expert said jokingly but with a certain amount of truth that the skyscrapers in the Leipziger Strasse had been built "so that we don't have to keep looking at the Springer building" (in the west of the city.)

Housing Minister Haack was told of the SED leadership's ambitious building programme decided at the last party conference. By 1990 the GDR wants every family to have a flat appropriate to its social position and in good condition.

For East Berlin this means 200,000 to 230,000 new flats will have to be built and 100,000 modernised. At the *moment there are 0.96 rooms per head* of the population, or 435 flats per 1,000 people.

The aim of the GDR's building policies is: "The complex organisation of an area, the provision of trade and service industry installation, kindergartens, crèches and swimming pools and a close connection with places of work." The city is to be developed evenly and openly "in contrast to the capitalist city."

The GDR has certainly achieved some of these aims. SPD members of the Rhineland Palatinate Landtag on a visit to a new estate in Riethstrasse in Erfurt were impressed to find an old people's home with accommodation for 450 among the new buildings. In the Leninallee area of East Berlin, Haack saw new student halls of residence.

One of the basic principles of the GDR's building policies, with which it "wishes to achieve high social aims," is that of preserving and branching out systematically from the historical city centre.

In their talks with Haack, GDR town planners stressed that the cathedral at the Marx-Engels Platz would soon be finished and that the German Cathedral and the French Cathedral on the former Gendarmenmarkt, now known as the Platz der Akademie, would be rebuilt and that "the historical facades would be restored to their former beauty."

They did not of course mention that Berlin Castle was demolished at the beginning of the 1950s. All that remains is the balcony from which Philipp Scheidemann proclaimed the Republic *in 1918. This balcony is now in the* Staatsrat building.

The Bonn delegation was made aware of the differences between the social systems in the west and the east of Germany when they asked about the Marx-Engels Platz. They asked what the point was of having such a large square and leaving it practically unused for meetings. The answer was: "Our town centre reflects the social development in our city. We provide space for public festivals and social events such as the Day of the Republic." On 7 October, the Day of the Republic, a military parade is held on Marx-Engels Platz.

When the Bonn visitors asked about cases of expropiation of private property, Peters said he knew of no case in which there had been difficulties: "If the owner does not agree to it of his own free will, he can be dispossessed on the basis of the GDR reconstruction law." Cases such as those in West Berlin where owners could hold out for years against the city authorities did not occur in the GDR.

Property owners, were, in principle, always agreeable to modernisation because this was to the advantage of the owner, the tenant and the state. This could be true, because there is no money to be made out of letting houses in the GDR, rents are far too low, and house owners are usually glad to get an almost interest-free loan from the state, with repayments graded according to their financial standing.

The square metre rent in the GDR ranges from 90 pfennigs to 1.05 marks. New buildings in West Berlin are sometimes dearer, up to 1.25 marks per square metre. On the other hand, earnings in East Berlin are higher than in the other provinces.

After the first two days of the Bonn delegation's visit to East Berlin, GDR Housing Minister Wolfgang Junker and Dieter Haack agreed that discussions were useful for both sides. It is evident that the chances of finding common ground on questions such as building and planning are far better than in other areas.

Karl-Heinz Baum

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 13 September 1978)

GDR representative Kohl says goodbye to Bonn

After four years as head of the GDR permanent representation in Bonn, Micharl Kohl is returning to East Berlin.

Herr Kohl has already paid his farewell visits to President Walter Scheel, Chancellor Schmidt, leader of the Opposition Helmut Kohl, and the heads of the other missions in Bonn. Minister of State Wischnewski gave him a princely farewell banquet and gift.

Michael Kohl, "Minister and Ambassador Extraordinary" as he was privately and unofficially called, has climbed a few rungs in the GDR hierarchy. He is to become Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs. The present Deputy Minister, Ewald Moldt, is to take his place in Bonn.

Reliable sources say 49-year-old Kohl is to become Honecker's chief negotiator with Bonn, as he was up to the signing of the *Grundlagenvertrag* in 1972, which he negotiated with fellow Thuringian Egon Bahr.

Asked about this in a television interview, Kohl said: "I would not count on this for the near future at least, because we are people who plan in the long term. We do not make short-term decisions."

It looks as if Bonn's man in East Berlin, Günter Gaus, will have to deal with an unknown negotiator in the present round now that his partner Kurt Nier has been ordered to the United Nations.

This could be Gaus's good fortune, because tough and thorough negotiating lawyor Kohl, occasionally described as being brusque, has remained an extremely hard man despite his years in the West. Kohl is a heavily built man whom *Die Zeit* described as "the picture of the affluent German citizen."

The son of a lawyer and notary from Sondershausen and a former university teacher of state and international law, Kohl entered politics at the age of 30 as legal adviser to the Ulbricht government. He has remained a party man through and through, though with humour, self-irony, wit and repartee. He can even laugh at jokes directed against himself.

In Bonn Michael Kohl was known as *Rotkohl* (red cabbage) whereas Helmut Kohl, leader of the Opposition, goes under the nickname of *Schwarz-Kohl*. Post for Michael Kohl quite frequently found its way to CDU party headquarters in Bonn and the porter readdressed the letters using a red felt pen.

The buildings and grounds of the GDR representation in Bonn cost DM7.5 million. Here Michael Kohl's fellow diplomats practise the art of keeping to themselves. Even off duty they preserve their isolation with their own kindergartens, pre-schools, kitchen, Sunday outings and collective living.

Kohl does things differently. His permanently smiling blonde wife Renate has a typical West German bungalow with swimming pool and sauna downstream from Bonn. Not far from their house is the "love island" on the Rhine, a favourite nudist haunt. At their soirees, where Red Riding Hood champagne from the Elbe, Wernersgrüner beer and Nordhäuser Doppelkorn were always in plentiful supply, the Kohl's attempted with some success to make intra-German relations a little more relaxed.

In a television interview the Kohls said they had learnt a lot. It had not been easy, "but I would not have missed this. I am glad I spent this time here," Herr Kohl said. For someone who worked out the treaties it had been very helpful and useful to see how they are working out and to draw conclusions. Frau Kohl said she felt homesick for their two sons and their house in Karlshorst, but they did not look back on their time in Bonn with sorrow.

Kohl had good reasons. Bonn does not consider the GDR to be a foreign state and so Kohl did not, like his more than a hundred foreign colleagues in Bonn, enjoy the status of ambassador. He had no access to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

The head of the GDR Representation is "connected" directly with the Chancellor's Office. This is not necessarily a disadvantage. Many other heads of missions regarded with some envy the fact that Kohl had ready access to the Chancellor without having to go through diplomatic channels.



GDR man Michael Kohl: no regets over term in West. (Photo: Sven Simon)

Kohl's successor is unlikely to have as spectacular a start in office as his predecessor, who started work at the same time as the GDR defeated the Federal Republic in the 1974 World Cup. But he will have to accept his status in Bonn. When making his first visit to President Scheel and Foreign Minister Genscher, Kohl was received in the FDP headquarters, then very small.

At present GDR diplomat are listed under "other representations" at the end of the Bonn list of diplomats. There is no prospect of this changing in the near future.

Karl-Heinz von den Driesch

(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 9 September 1978)

■ ECONOMICS

Bonn's tax package fails to satisfy reform demands

DER TAGESSPIEGEL

The statement "I have every confidence in myself" made by a leading politician reflects smugness, arrogance and indeed stupidity. The continuing fierce debate over the latest Bonn tax package is beginning to take on very similar overtones.

The politicans talk at cross purposes, with only their own standpoint and advantage in mind. What is even worse, objective needs and exigencies are brushed aside in favour of ideological objectives.

And yet there can be little doubt that the latest tax and exonomic stimulation package from the Bonn government, aimed at investment promotion and hence growth, falls short of the mark.

Investments are still stifled by numerous secondary taxes. This would apply even if the controversial payroll tax were to be abolished.

According to the Council of Economic Advisors (dubbed the Five Wise Men) in their latest special report, "there is a need for action in a fiscal policy intended to be growth policy."

This maxim is likely to remain applicable for the next decade.

The fiscal and government spending decisions by the Cabinet have two major shortcomings when seen in this light: with a limited budget, Bonn intended to achieve numerous economic and social policy goals. But the result, as the Institute of Germany Economy aptly notes, is only a patchwork of quite useful individual measures.

Sight was lost of the overall concept and — even worse — the basic fiscal growth promotion is in danger of staying on the ground, as borne out by the separation of the payroll tax complex from the overall scheme.

Such criticism does not, however, overlook the complexity of the payroll tax problem. It is certain that Bonn omitted to investigate the response to such a measure before taking a Cabinet decision on 28 July. It did not take into account the resistance the decision to abolish the payroll tax from 1980 would meet, not did it plan counter arguments to meet the criticsm.

It should be remembered that payroll tax flows into municipal coffers and is levied by only about one in ten municipalities. The tax is based on the payroll in every calendar month.

Business is justified in saying that this tax brakes growth. It hampers the hiring of new staff and is thus an anachronism, considering that unemployment continues around the one million mark.

On the debate to date, it must be noted that both sides have gradually shifted from the subject of growth policy by fiscal means to that of general tax reform — evidently without being aware of it.

In the course of the debate it has become obvious that, far from being a mere DM3.5 million issue to be decided upon swiftly, it is, with other trading taxes, only one of the pillars of a specifically German fiscal fossil that has considerable effects on structural policy.

Those talking about payroll tax and its elimination should also have thought about reducing our anachronistic trading taxes — not eliminating them altogether.

The present coalition government has thus failed to come up with a genuine tax reform programme.

It could of course be argued that a fundamental reform programme takes time and money. But this can be countered by the argument that there was plenty of both time and money.

Now both time and money are in short supply. The available scope in the Value Added Tax sector has been wasted by minor adjustments.

Moreover, the taxation system as a whole has become increasingly complicated over time. The situation is further aggravated and confused by growing problems in the distribution of revenues between the federal government and the Länder and local governments.

Thus, for instance, the federal government accounts for 40 per cent of this year's overall government spending and for 66 per cent of credits taken up on money markets.

This demonstrates the highly problematic imbalance of revenue and expenditure between federal government, Länder and municipalities — an aspect which further hampers the sorely needed reforms.

In view of this complex situation, any attempt to cut the knot would only bring new disaster. In other words, the past failure to bring some order into the fiscal and taxation system cannot be made good at once.

This makes it even more necessary to see that business, which has had to pay for everything from higher wages to drastically shortened working hours, be relieved of unnecessary burdens as soon as possible.

(Der Tagesspiegel, 10 September 1978)

Peace breaks out on the North-South frontline

All is quiet on the North-South front, the demarcation line between the Western industrial nations and the Third World.

The calls for a fight for a "New international Economic Order" have ceased, and optimistic forecast are again being ventured. It seems the much-heralded and feared economic war between the Third World and the West will in all likelihood not take place.

Preliminary work for the next UN Conference on Trade and Development, in Manila next May, has begun. The representatives of the developing countries are upset because the West has so far failed to meet a single demand put forward at Unctad IV in Nairobi in the spring of 1976. But at the moment there is nothing to indicate that the Japanese, the Americans and the Europeans will face much criticism in Manila.

Only two years ago, the demand for a global raw materials fund caused quite a stir. The Bonn government, which opposed the demand, was in fact sent to Coventry by the European Community.

Today, insiders in Geneva doubt that the Third World will seriously pursue the issue of the fund in Manila. What has caused this about-face?

Geneva observers say the developing countries have realised that, due to the world-wide economic malaise, there is little to be had from the industrial countries.

This is certainly true, but it is not the whole story. The economic woes of the industrial nations were no better two years ago than they are today and that did not stop the Third World voicing its demands — based not only on the moral responsibility of the haves towards the have-nots, but arising from the natural development of an era.

The Third World is demanding restitution from its former colonial masters, who deliberately denied it an economic and social development of its own.

The about-face — if it can be called that — is certainly not purely tactical. The Third World seems to be exploring new avenues and there seems to be a growing realisation that the demand for an immediate redisribution of wealth is neither practicable nor an ideal solution.

There is evidence that a businesslike cooperation with the Est (formerly deemed capitalistic and therefore objectionable) has paved the way for investments and the influx of modern technology, thus bringing tangible results.

According to development policy experts in the European Community, a businesslike approach is gaining the upper hand, and not only for the benefit of the private accounts of Third World leaders.

As soon as statistics bear out the first success, the businesslike attitude combines with national pride; and this very fact provides the West with a chance in its wooing of the developing countries and in its competition with the East bloc for spheres of influence in the Third World.

The developing nations have meanwhile realised that the Soviet Union is a partner for war and not for peace and economic development.

Allies of Moscow, such as Mozambique and Angola, are increasingly trying to distance themselves. Others, the traditional fence-sitters among the developing countries, are more and more impressed by the credibly unselfish assistance provided by some of the smaller Western countries such as Sweden and Holland — but also by the Federal Republic of Germany and the European Community, which enjoys an excellent reputation.

This type of no-political-strings-attached development aid strengthens the striving for independence in the developing countries. It also creates a relationship of good faith.

In comparison with this relationship, the monolithic East bloc, dominated by the Soviet Union, appears like a relic from long ago.

The question now is whether the West will be able to strengthen this as weak trend in development policy. It will certainly not be able to if, for instance, it exports textile machinery to developing countries and then imposes import barriers for textiles.

Above all, Western Europe should not miss the new opportunities. It needs the Third World more than anyone else.

Winfried Münster

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 6 September 1978)

Eurocurrency plan worries Bundesbank

Since the European summit in Bremen earlier this year, experts have been working on the European currency system announced by the heads of government.

The July summit only provided the outlines of a system of fixed exchange rates, foreign exchange funds and accounting units. Since then little has been heard about the work behind closed doors.

But the apprehension now voiced by the Bankers' Association indicates that the makers of the blueprint have made considerable progress. The bankers' warning against an erosion of the autonomy of the Bundesbank is probably something more than mere routine pessimism.

This is borne out by the details of the system among them the one-year repayment term for credits in connection with currency intervention, which could undermine the desire for monetary stability in the borrower countries, and the lack of a fixed point of intervention for the currencies among each other.

This is to be replaced by a "fixed point of reference" for foreign exchange rate leeways, made up of the average of the affected currencies themselves. In other words, this intervention point would fluctuate with the currencies. And, finally, the banks oppose the envisaged increase of liquidity through a special type of mutual credit lines.

Granted, none of these arguments is new. But they are timely at this stage of tinkering with the new system.

The fact that leading representatives of the Bundesbank have reservations cannot be doubted in view of the traditionally close ties within the banking world.

Although the autonomy of the Bundesbank is no end in itself, it must prove its necessity anew every day. Less stringent foreign exchange regulations — following the abolition of fixed exchange rates — are not an argument favouring autonomy opponents.

Evidently, the Bundesbank feels the time has come to enlist the help of the media. It wants to avoid agreeing to associate itself with something with which it failed once before.

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 5 September 1978)

■ PROPERTY

Japanese giant opens its Düsseldorf showplace

The Japanese colony in Düsseldorf, Japan's biggest outpost in Europa, has a new focal point — the German-Japanese Centre which officially opened on 8 September.

The glass, concrete, marble, aluminium and polished granite building built in two years at a cost of DM180 million, houses offices, fine stores, a first class hotel and the German-Japanese Chamber of Commerce.

The nine-storey building is owned by the German subsidiary of the Marubeni concern, Japan's third largest trading company, dealing in everything, with emphasis on plant and machinery, chemicals and metals.

Marubeni has 140 overseas subsidiaries, and its German company has branches in Hamburg, Munich and Zurich. Its turnover is that of Thyssen and Volkswagen combined.

Three years ago, Marubeni bought the 9,000sq. metre site in Düsseldorf's Immermann Street, an area where many Japanese live, for DM30 million.

Planning permission took a very short time and work began in July 1976. Marubeni's representative in Germany, Günter Sober, is full of praise for the authorities, who, he says, went out of their way to help.

But his praise is certainly also financially motivated since the company received a 7.5 per cent investment subsidy and North Rhine-Westphalia guaranteed a DM50 million loan.

The building complex, which enhances the area between Düsseldorf's central station and the inner city, was designed by Düsseldorf architects Hentrich, Petschnigg & Partner (HPP), although the concept comes from Japan where HPP architects worked with the Takenaka Construction Company which employs 1,500 architects. HPP helped trim down Japanese ideas to the format of Düsseldorf.

The Düsseldorfers, however, have not yet grown used to the unusual sight. Public comments range from an unequivocal "repulsive", via "a soulless box", all the way to admiration for the taste of the Japanese.

The focal point of the German-Japanese Centre is the plaza, an atrium, still full of the clutter of construction equipment but where some planting has already been done. It is one day to become a lively meeting place.

Many shops are still empty and artisans are busy removing the last traces of work.

The plaza separates the hotel from the rest of the complex and is accessible from three sides, the main entrance being on Immermann Street between two pillars resembling a giant tuning fork.

The Nikko Hotel will increase Düsseldorf's first class hotel capacity by 600 beds. It is the fifteenth in the world-wide chain of JAL hotels, owned by Japan Airlines.

The general idea is based on offering modern comfort combined with Far Eastern elements. While most rooms are dominated by "German oak," the Far East is in evidence in the restaurants, for instance the Benkay dining room which features Japanese specialties. The same applies to the Tatami Rooms where guests eat at low tables, seated on cushions. But Europeans eating with Japanese business friends need not worry about numb feet — there is a cavity under the table for non-Asians to stretch their legs.

Three of the hotel suites are entirely in Japanese style, while the Presidential Suite is Old English.

Whether the new hotel, which expects that about 20 per cent of its guests will be Japanese, will thrive on the Rhine remains to be seen. Right now all rooms are booked out for the trade fair season.

New German-Japanese Centre in Düsseldorf: cross-cultural architecture on the Rhine. (Photo: dpa)

The real test, says hotel manager Klaus-Dietrich Hein, will come next spring.

Apart from the Chamber of Commerce and Marubeni, the new centre also has the Bank of Tokyo as one of its most important tenants. The office space — 60 per cent rented — will house the Japanese Consulate General and various Japanese companies. German firms have also expressed an interest.

The retail shops include a Dutch diamond dealer, an Italian leather goods shop and a branch of a Japanese department store chain. An underground garage has parking for 500 cars.

Technical installations account for DM50 million of the cost. The complex is fully air-conditioned and has all technical amenities from a laundry for the hotel to closed-circuit TV for the centre itself and for neighbouring buildings whose reception has been adversely effected by the centre.

The hotel also has a fully integrated computer system.

The Japanese and German guests at the opening ceremony had to put up with some tricks played by the gadgetry. Herr Sober, for instance, ordered a glass of milk and was presented with a bill for DM210.80 by the computer — the price of lavish meal.

Eberhard Krummheuer

([illegible] September 1978)

Deutsche Bank moves in on Wall Street citadel

Deutsche Bank's intention to buy the World Trade Centre in New York on behalf of financially potent clients has caused a stir in the American press.

German investors in the United States have been particularly active since the dollar started suffering from consumption, but this drew little attention because the purchases, chiefly real estate, were handled discreetly and there were no spectacular deals to attract headlines.

The purchase by a German consortium of banks headed by Deutsche Bank of Pennzoil Plaza and the Shell Oil Tower in Houston, Texas, was a major deal — but Texas yardsticks are different.

It is, however, definitely headline news when German investors consider buying Manhattan's tallest skyscraper, the World Trade Centre with its twin 411-metre towers.

The two towers are, so to speak, the watchtowers of Wall Street, and to have them pass into German hands could appear as if the deutschemark and the economic potential behind it had taken control of the citadel of the dollar. No other investment would more dramatically exemplify the change in currency relations between deutschemark and dollar.

The deal has not yet been completed, but first talks with the owners of the World Trade Centre, the Port Authority of New York and New Jersey, were initiated by Deutsche Bank in mid-August. Deutsche Bank, with its 120 billion deutschemark deposits, is the world's third largest after Bank of America and Citybank, New York.

The World Trade Centre was built between 1969 and 1973 at a cost of one billion dollars. It is not known what Deutsche Bank will have to pay for it if the deal comes off. The question of price has not yet come up in the preliminary negotiations, say reports. Estimates speak of four billion deutschemarks.

Why is the Port Authority contemplating this sale — especially in new of the symbolic character of the World Trade Centre?

New Yorkers have a ready reply. Americans have considered the World Trade Centre a white elephant since its completion. Even now, only 90 per cent of the floor area is rented — and only because the Port Authority accepted rentals below cost.

It is hard to imagine that Deutsche Bank has not carefully weighed this real estate deal of the century.

The problems surrounding the World Trade Centre are closely linked with the fact that completion coincided with the recession that diminished demand for office space. The situation was further aggravated by excessive office construction in Manhattan in the late 60s, bringing a glut.

The World Trade Centre with its 1.2 million sq. metres of office space (the equivalent of [illegible] housing blocks) could not have been built at a less favourable time. In fact, it is a success that 90 per cent is rented — even though this was done at dumping prices.

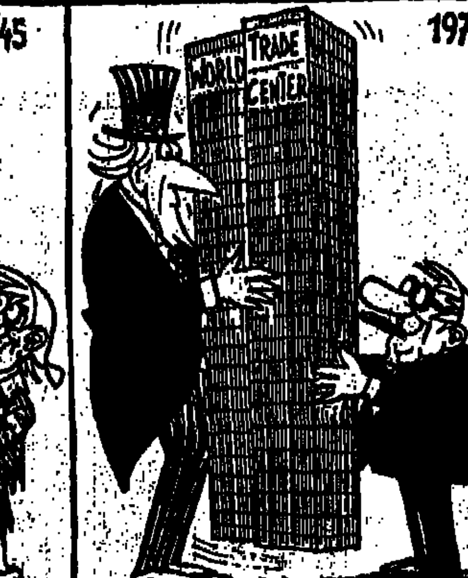
It must not be overlooked that the Port Authority as a public institution pays no real estate tax. German owners would have to pay about 60 million dollars a year, as New York's Mayor Edward Koch, in sore heed of every million he can lay his hands on, said recently.

So what prompted Deutsche Bank to consider the deal?

Said a satisfied Peter Goldmark, director of the Port Authority, after the first round of talks: "The gentlemen from Deutsche Bank have done their homework."

Jürgen Kramer

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 2 September 1978)





Changing times (Karl-Heinz Schönfeld / Die Rheinpfalz)

■ AVIATION

Another Airbus lift-off as Britain rejoins project

On 31 August M. Lathière, French head of the European Airbus corporation, proudly announced in Paris an order for three more Airbuses, numbors 165 to 167, by MAS, the Malaysian Airlines System.

By coincidence, the British government chose the same day to announce that it was rejoining the Airbus project.

From the *resplendent period town* house that is the Airbus project's Paris head office, M. Lathière told his story at what is becoming a weekly Airbus briefing.

Dutch sales director Dan Krok has for months been selling Airbuses faster than the assembly lines can turn them out.

Output is not to go up to two a month until the end of the year. The Airbus has been sold out in advance until the end of 1980.

What will happen if, as Airbus men hope, more US operators decide to buy, insisting on prompt delivery?

This is a most important question for Bonn, which has put DM1,200m into Airbus research and development and is not entitled to full repayment until the 360th has been sold.

Bonn is also underwriting current output, since as usual the initial unit production cost is higher than the price charged. Aircraft manufacture is always somewhat speculative.

DIE ZEIT

As yet the Airbus is well in the red, and German manufacturers Messerschmitt-Bölkow-Blohm and VFW Fokker *have run up several hundred million* deutschemarks in debts on its account.

But 165 airbuses sold means Airbus manufacturers in Germany and France (and component suppliers in several other countries) are fast nearing break-even point.

And now the British are rejoining a project they abandoned in the early 70s convinced it was a no-hoper. Paris, Bonn, Holland and Spain, were left holding the baby.

Britain never pulled out entirely. Hawker Siddeley, now a division of state-owned British Acrospace, subcontracted to manufacture wing units.

Airbus prospects began to look brighter last autumn when Lufthansa suddenly ordered thirteen. "We have to keep our options open," said Lufthansa director Rolf Stüssel.

A few weeks later Eastern Airlines ordered 24 Airbuses and Europe had finally gained a toehold in the US market, which accounts for 50 per cent of international airliner sales.

Suddenly the Airbus was in demand, and Britain's interest in rejoining could hardly have come at a more convenient moment.

Last July Lufthansa voiced interest in 25 A 300 B 10s, a smaller version of the standard model, seating 200 rather than 250. The airline would require delivery by spring 1983.

Time is short. The B 10 will have to be ready by autumn 1982 if Lufthansa is to fly it the following spring. Development of the smaller version will have to begin this autumn and the Airbus team were determined to go ahead without the British if necessary.

In Britain views differed. Rolls Royce's Sir Kenneth Keith was keen to cooperate with the Americans, arguing that most aircraft are manufactured in the United States, so prospects are better there.

But Lord Beswick of British Aerospace favoured joining forces with Europe, reasoning that Britain could not hope to be more than a components supplier for the Americans, whereas it would be an equal partner in the European venture.

Britain's decision to rejoin the Airbus project was partly motivated by the share in B 10 wing development and jobs for 8,000 aircraft workers.

Yet Britain still managed to give the airbus a backhander. British Airways has ordered 19 Boeing 757s, a short- and medium-haul airliner also available in the early 80s.

The Boeing will have Rolls Royce engines, so the British Airways order should help safeguard 10,000 jobs at Rolls Royce's aero engine division in Derby.

Bonn is evidently prepared to swallow this, feeling confident that in time the British will realise that the future of their aerospace industry is in Europe.

Besides, if Britain rejoins, Bonn will only have to invest roughly DM800m in B 10 development, whereas the cost would be nearly DM1,500m if Paris and Bonn were to go it alone.

But the French are more sceptical about the fickle British. They want them to demonstrate loyalty by ordering Airbuses of their own.

So British Airways coupled their decision to buy Boeing with a statement that the Airbus would be given every consideration in future fleet planning.

Now that Whitehall is back in the fold, it is time Bonn reorganised the German aerospace industry. One aim must be to make works capacity so flexible that additional Airbus orders can be handled swiftly.

On 21 December last year Bonn agreed to rescue VFW Fokker with a cash transfusion of DM400m, but announced that sooner or later there was going to have to be a merger.

VFW Fokker and Messerschmitt-Bölkow-Blohm were to join by the end of next year. But many clashing interests must still be reconciled.

MBB in Munich claim priority. "As far as we are concerned," says acting managing direct Sepp Hort, "it can only be a matter of MBB buying out VFW Fokker."

So the Munich management plan to take over the German division of VFW Fokker, whereas the VFW management in Bremen are keen to retain some kind of corporate identity.

The city of Bremen recently bought a stake in the ailing VFW works and is determined to maintain the Bremen division as a technological centre.

Fokker, the Dutch partners in VFW Fokker, are far from enthusiastic about a parting. They would sooner participate in a larger, international merger.

Bavaria and Hamburg each hold stakes in MBB's share capital. They are understandably keen to told on to MBB jobs in Munich and Hamburg.

Industrial shareholders in MBB, firstly Siemens, the Munich electrical engineering giant, would like an assurance *that* the future company, in whatever form, is run on strictly commercial, profit-orientated lines.

When the two managements resume negotiations after the summer recess they will first want to agree on what is to be manufactured where, by how many men.

Once agreement is reached on this, shareholders and company lawyers will set about drafting the new company statutes.

At the Economic Affairs Ministry in Bonn parliamentary under-secretary Martin Grüner is responsible for aerospace coordination.

Merger terms will not be agreed by the end of the year, he says, but by then we ought to have a better idea of their final shape.

Heinz Michaels

(Die Zeit, 8 September 1978)



The European Airbus: 167 now sold and a decision by Britain to come back under the wing. (Photo: dpa)

■ ISSUES

Cabinet move to tougher line on environment

Environmental offences are to have a section of their own in penal code amendment proposals approved by the Bonn Cabinet on 6 September.

They are modestly called an amendment to (rather than a reform of) the code, but they still amount to a fundamental change in outlook.

In this they merit comparison with major changes such as those on sexual offences, abortion, protest demonstrations and the like. They are more than a mere reaction to day-to-day requirements.

A number of penal code changes grandly claimed as reforms were really little more than a relaxation of regulations.

Environmental offences of a criminal nature now seem destined for a tougher reappraisal and rejig.

Pollution offenders have long been liable to fines and criminal proceedings, but the penal code is way out of date on environmental matters.

One of its provisions that comes closest to being in any way relevant is that on poisoning spring water, offenders being liable to between one and ten years' imprisonment.

Water is no longer fetched by the pail from the nearest well, but this section of the penal code still has its priorities right.

And it is by no means as antiquated as is claimed. The authorities are seriously considering the possibility that terrorists might poison water supplies.

Environmental provisions have been steadily extended in recent years, pollution precautions having been accepted as a major consideration in industrial society. The aim of the latest amendment proposals is to incorporate in the penal code offences listed in, say, the Water Resources Act, the Atmospheric Pollution Act, the Waste Disposal Act, the Atomic Energy Act and the Transport of Dangerous Goods Act.

Consideration will be paid to case law and to international law, such as the 1954 agreement on marine pollution by oil.

Codification of environmental offences is seen as more than a mere catalogue of additions to the statute book. Regulations governing atmospheric pollution, noise abatement and ionised radiation are to be made more stringent.

It is not enough to proclaim that anyone who pollutes the atmosphere or makes undue noise will be brought to book. Anyone who does anything, especially in industry, is more or less bound to do both.

Nothing is to be gained by empowering people who live next to a factory to take the company to court because a metal saw occasionally screeches unpleasantly.

Environmental regulations must take into account the provisions of the Factory Act which governs the noise and mess factories and workshops are entitled to make.

Water pollution offenders are liable to up to five years' imprisonment, but the reulations do not say that anyone who pollutes water resources will be liable to punishment.

They stipulate that anyone who does so without permission will be liable to punishment.

The small print goes on to say that the court must consider whether the offence is liable to punishment, given existing legal provisions and general principles.

So before sentence is passed the court must decide whether the degree of water pollution comes within the extent permitted when the factory was granted planning permission.

The proposals have little to say on soil pollution. Economic activities of all kinds entail soil pollution, even the farmer who spreads muck or fertiliser, so it is extremely difficult to say in general terms what constitutes an offence.

But water pollution proposals are tougher, although they intriguingly note that grounds do not yet exist for prosecuting with the full rigour of the law offences against the water tables and inland waterways of neighbouring countries.

This is clearly a reference to difficulties along the upper reaches of the Rhine and with waterways which constitute the border with the GDR.

The proposals deal at length with atmospheric pollution and noise abatement, but categorising offences other than in general terms has proved uncommonly difficult.

The borderline between an indictable and a non-indictable offence is defined as the point where noise levels or atmospheric pollution constitute a breach of administrative obligations.

Fines and up to five years' imprisonment are envisaged for offences of this kind, which expressly exclude road, rail, air and water transport.

So residents in city suburbs plagued by the noise of airliners taking off and landing need not expect the amended penal code to prove much use.

When it comes to unofficial dumping of refuse, the proposals rely on the wording of the Waste Disposal Act, which says illicit dumping is a criminal offence and not merely a minor offence on a par with a parking ticket.

Illicit dumping of dangerous waste is to constitute an environmental hazard in much the same way as motorists who fail the breathalyser test are deemed dangerous even though they may not have harmed a soul.

Special reference is made to radioactive waste and failure to dispose of it in the prescribed manner. The proposals also include the Atomic Energy Act's provisions on the operation of a nuclear installation without permission.

A general heading "serious environmental offences" is envisaged. It will include the carriage of explosive or otherwise dangerous materials without permission.

An offence here will be deemed to have been committed whenever "parts of the natural environment which are of substantial ecological importance are so impaired that the damage can either never be made good or only with undue difficulty or after a long period of time."

The courts will have no easy time in formulating case law on this provision. Administrative courts will have a field day in interpreting the penal code.

To make matters even more complicated, the draft has proved controversial, bringing disputes between all kinds of authorities and interests.

Even within the Cabinet the interests of the Justice Ministry clashed with those of the Interior Ministry, responsible for the environment.

The Economic Affairs Ministry has a word to say on the subject as well. It cannot condone without a whimper the imposition of fresh and may be unnecessary red tape on trade, industry and the economy.

The Länder have also been vocal, since they as a rule are responsible for planning permission which will largely determine whether an offence is indictable.

Then there are the various industrial and commercial lobbies, and their interests are legion.

Hans de With, parliamentary state secretary to the Justice Ministry, is hopeful that preparations have been sufficiently thorough to ensure passing of the amendments by the present Bundestag.

In previous penal code reform debates the Social and Free Democrats were reluctant to allow that the criminal law has an educational or in any way ethical role.

But when it comes to environmental offences, Bonn now argues that codification will help to impress legal codes of conduct on the general public and to ensure they are observed.

Friedrich Karl Fromme

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 7 September 1978)

Nuclear waste site still bogged down

Disputes over the location of a storage dump for highly radioactive waste create the mistaken impression that it is matter of whether or not to provide the facility.

There is no choice. Nuclear power stations are generating more and more radioactive waste. The public has a right to know what the government intend to do with it.

So it is annoying to note that the long-overdue decision on a site for the waste dump is regularly shelved.

Lower Saxon Prime Minister Ernst Albrecht is right to weigh planning permission for the nuclear waste disposal plant at Gorleben very carefully. It could wreak havoc.

But there are increasing grounds for suspecting that the decision facing the Lower Saxon Land government in Hanover is being delayed for tactical reasons.

Why else can the Land government have waited so long before calling on opponents of atomic energy to submit counter-proposals?

Why else is Hanover content to wait until this procedure has been exhausted before authorising trial drilling to establish whether the subterranean salt formations will be a suitable repository for radioactive waste?

Or is the fear of political trouble with anti-nuclear protest groups to be considered a good and sufficient reason?

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 9 September 1978)

FESTIVALS

The circus gets its just deserts in Berlin

It was a good idea of Ulrich Eckhardt's to make the art of the circus the central theme of this year's Berlin Festival because the circus arena has had an important influence on theatre, painting and literature.

Darius Milhaus, grandmaster of polytonal music, had a flat on the Boulevard de Clichy in Paris and when the circus Medrano put up its tents opposite he could often hear the music of two or more carrousels and barrel-organs. Milhaud, a merry Provençale, once joked that circus music and the second movement of Bach's Italian Concerto were the main inspiration for his polytonal compositions.

In 1919 Milhaud and his friend Jean Cocteau wrote the ballet *Le Boeuf sur le toil*. The famous Fratellini and the clowns of the circus Medrano danced in the premiere at the Comedie des Champs Elysees in 1920. Milhaud and Francis Poulenc played the music for this ballet four handed on the piano for Arnold Schönberg in Mödling in 1922. Schönberg was delighted and reminded his French friend of it 23 years later.

The programme for the festival from 7 September to 8 October is 300 pages long, describing and commenting on the events. Its cover shows the head of a bay horse decked with roses and ostrich feathers and the horse neighs at you from most of the advertising columns in Berlin.

While the Moscow Philharmonia conducted by Dimitri Kitajenko play in the Berlin Philharmonia, the *haute volée* of Berlin and young people crowd into the tents set up between Stüler's Matthäus Church, Scharoun's State Library and Mies van der Rohe's National Gallery to see *"le cirque à l'ancienne."* The book by Noel Delvaux with its many photos tells what it is all about — a rebirth of the circus of the Belle Epoque, as glorified by Toulouse Lautrec, the surrealists, Picasso and other painters.

The 12 men and women and their two elephants and three horses present a perfectly coordinated, highly acrobatic display of clownery, superb balancing acts and daring equestrianism. Young Martine as the jumping rider of the dapple grey, as the gipsy in the rope dance with the four rotating spheres, Alexis as artist and the saxophone player l'Auguste, Dedo in the clown numbers all give superb performance.

The secret of the troupe is the way they combine virtuosity with the light touch and relaxed charm of a family from a small French town. Even when something does not go right the first time the smiles are not forced and the second time all goes well.



Spirit of the circus captured in a turn of the century poster. (World Artistic Library, Erdwin Schirmer, Hamburg.) (Photo: Katalog)

When it is all over and the family with seven-year-old Stephanie bow to the thunderous applause, it is 10.30. There is time to walk the few hundred yards to the National Gallery. Coloured light bulbs show the way, and by a strange caprice of the weather, it is nor raining.

Here, too, boards have been arranged around a platform on which one can hear the musical programme. The young German Philharmonia, which won first prize at the Karajan competition in 1976 in Berlin, consists of students and graduates from all this country's musical academies and is based in Witten. Some of the orchestra's percussionists and brass players play the short programme of the opening ceremony — Igor Stravinsky's Circus Polka of 1942, after a Schubert military march.

Then Dietrich Stobbe, lord mayor of Berlin, speaks, pointing to Berlin's importance as a centre of music and theatre and its contribution to culture. He welcomes Mrs Dominique Nabokov, widow of Nicolas Nabokov, who died on 6 April after being connected with Berlin's cultural life for decades.

His last work was Scenes from a Circus, commissioned by the Berlin Festival, and the programme ends with its

Continued on page 11

The world of mime is a sell-out in Cologne

Mimes performing at the third international pantomime festival in Cologne have set up their tents for a week a stone's throw away from Cologne Cathedral amid the pubs, restaurants and antique shops in the Brügelmann House am Alten Markt.

This grey building, originally a clothing factory and later used for storing furniture, is now owned by the city of Cologne. Handymen built a provisional stage on the ground floor in time for the festival.

Milan Sládek is the man behind the event. Three years ago Sládek, who comes from Czechoslovakia, organised the first pantomime festival in his adopted home town of Cologne, where he has been living for eight years. Four years ago he founded the only permanent pantomime theatre in Europe, the Kefka Theatre in the Aachener Strasse.

Sládek wants the festival to present the various forms of pantomime and to illustrate the interconnections between pantomime, ballet, theatre and opera.

The Mimes 78 meeting, jointly organised by the Kefka Theatre and the city of Cologne, can be compared to a miniature journey around the world and through time. The soloists duos and ensembles are from Europe, Asia and America, presenting ritual forms of dance pantomimes from the 17th and 18th centuries and modern pantomime.

The classical pantomime recedes into the background in comparison and hybrid forms with other theatrical elements predominate. Mimes 78 is a more accurate description than the official title of Pantomime Festival.

First of all there was co-organiser Milan Sládek and his ensemble. As well as his pantomimes, in which Kefka, alias Sládek, achieved surprising new insights into biblical history, Sladek also presented a premiere of *Don Juan*, with Gluck's ballet music. Another mime from West Germany was Nemo, whose real name is Wolfgang Neuhausen. The 29-year-old soloist's piece entitled *Shop Window Models* ranged from absurd ideas to realistic satire, demonstrating that human ideas can have inhuman consequences.

Two duos from France, the classic country of pantomime, came to the Cologne: the Theatre du Mouvement (Claire Heggen, Yves Marc) with Mime and Pinok and Matho from Paris. Pinok and Matho's *Cris, nuit, lune, nuages et quelques gaudrioles* (Screams, Night, Moon, Clouds and some Foolery) is a collection of comical, tragic, sad but always brilliantly played stories. They make fun of the muscle-flexing and acting of all-in wrestlers or the emptiness of everyday greetings. Many in the audience will have recognised themselves as the two mimes grimaced while they gossiped. Who would deny the truth of the *Concerto for Two Bodies* and a *Sack Seat*. The biblical proverb that one should carry the other's burden is illustrated in a scene in which one groans under the weight of two seats while the other sits back and enjoys life.



World of mime: Korean troupe performing at the International mime festival in Cologne. (Photo: DIP, Bochum)

Desmond Jones from Britain performed for the first time in Germany a piece called *Leaning on Silence*. He is one of the most ascetic of mimes, relying entirely on body language and facial expression. Paco Gonzalez and Miguel Garrido from Spain were both meant to attend but preferred a holiday in the south to the cold Cologne summer.

La Nora and Met from America made up for this. The duo involved the audience so completely in the stories they were miming on the stage that soon everyone was playing along. People helped them to drag a table across the stage and the entire audience made jungle noises as Nora and six members of the audience resuscitated the dead hunter in a mysterious ritual. Many in the audience were crying with laughter as the two mimed their experiences in a cinema in an act verging on slapstick.

Two Asian groups presented ancient theatrical forms from a completely different culture. Patra from Indonesia played a piece for which there are no written notes, texts or choreography. During religious feasts in Bali the village community brings sacrifices to entice the spirits into the temple. Every villager plays a part corresponding to his own character and social status.

In the similar *Masque from Pongsan*, a Korean masque group described in loosely connected scenes negative aspects of life repressed by our consciousness.

Most of the performances were sold out, so Milan Sladek and the city of Cologne have decided to stage another pantomime festival next year.

Heinrich Kronlage

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 11 September 1978)

WRITING

Clemens Brentano – the poet who came to suspect poetry



Clemens Brentano was born 200 years ago on 8 September 1778 in Ehrenbreitstein, near Koblenz. His mother, Maximiliane Brentano, nee Laroche, was a capricious, dark-eyed woman; his father, Pietro Antonio Brentano, was a hard-working and wealthy merchant from Northern Italy. His father's wealth meant Clemens never had to earn a living.

Brentano was born in the year Goethe was working on *Wilhelm Meister* and Schiller had to stop work on *The Robbers* to devote more time to his studies. His father was a sober and solid merchant and it was through his mother that the young Clemens came under the spell of poets and thinkers.

Brentano's grandmother, Sophie Laroche, once Wieland's fiancee, had been a friend of Goethe. The older Goethe cast longing and delighted glances at Sophie's daughter, Mam Maximiliane, whom he described as a "heavenly apparition." The door to Goethe's house in Weimar was always open to Maximilliane's children, Clemens and Bettina, later to become the wife of Achim von Arnim.

Here in Goethe's Olympian seat the Brentanos made friendship and acquaintance with men such as Herder, Wieland, Fichte, Tieck, the Schlegel brothers, Eichendorff and Arnim.

It is necessary to go into rather more detail about this tight network of friendships and relationships. The business and production of literature during the German Romantic period was the almost exclusive preserve of cultural circles. Personal friendships and connections were all-important.

Although the romantic movement proclaimed that literature should be accessible to the people, many of its representatives were, in the depth of their souls, admirers of subjective virtuosity, artistic exuberance and delight in the sensibility of personal emotions. In this respect Clemens Brentano, the poet with the Italian name and Italian blood, was the most romantic of all the romantics.

Nonetheless, even if Brentano, along with Eichendorff and Novalis, is the personification of romanticism to non-literati, few people are familiar with Brentano's poetry. Neither in his own lifetime nor today can Brentano be described as a people's poet. Even his poetic Lorelei ballad *Zu Bacharach am Rheine, wohnt eine Zauberin* (At Bacharach on the Rhine there lives a sorceress) never became a *Volkslied*, unlike Heine's far weaker version *Ich weiss nicht, was soll es bedeuten* (I do not know what it means) which was inspired by Brentano.

Which of Brentano's works remain in the memory today? His fairy tales of course and in the first place the subtle tale of *Gockel, Hinkel and Gackeleia*, some poems which are among the finest ever written in the German language, the comedy *Ponce de Leon*, the moving story of the Braven Kasperl und schönen Annerl, and, above all, the collection of songs which he edited along with his brother-in-law Arnim entitled *Des Knaben Wunderhorn*.

His novel *Godwi*, which he described as "run wild" and the pious *Romanzen vom Rosenkranz* (Romances of the Rosary) are highly respectable relics in the cellar of literary history, not to mention the countless drafts, sketches and fragments by this restless, self-consuming poet.

Even if one includes the large body of his fragmentary work, it is still too little, far too little. Yet it would be simplistic and incorrect to blame the fragmentary nature of much of his work for Brentano's shadowy literary reputation. The fragment as such is a typical, perhaps the most typical romantic form of expression — this applies to Brentano, Novalis, Tieck and many others.

There are two other reasons why the poet Brentano was never popular, why his lyrical poetry was not put to music.

One reason why he never achieved lasting popularity was his almost egoistic concept of poetry. He believed it was a momentary state of inspiration, that it was essential to draw upon this inspiration to the full, ideally in the circle of one's friends. His nature, like that of many romantics, was innerly torn and could be given free rein to express itself in the fragment, the perfection of imperfection.

Apart from this — and this appears quite consistent — Brentano after the initial delight in publication in his youth was reluctant in later years to have his work published. Indeed, as he became increasingly and excessively religious, he began to be ashamed of his poetry. He once described it as "idolatry, which is all the more dangerous because of its spirituality." He could never stop writing poetry but he did manage to ensure that his work did not get beyond the narrow circle of his friends.

No volume of his collected poems appeared during his lifetime, which has made life very difficult for editors of his works, because there were no final manuscripts versions, no definitive versions of his poems.

Poetry was an act of extravagant self-realisation for the early political Brentano, who wrote empathic songs of victory for the European wars of liberty and highly personal poetry of longing for heaven. This also applies for the mystical and mythical Christian poetry he



Clemens Brentano: the romantic's romantic. (Photo: dpa)

wrote after 1817, the year in which he was converted to Catholicism. After this he spent years writing down the visions of the nun Anna Katharina Emmerick, who bore stigmata. Brentano died in 1842 at the age of 62.

On one occasion Brentano did overcome his unstable nature which usually prevented him from completing any work. For once concentration won the day over extravagance and obsession. Recent research has shown that it was Brentano (who spent most of the time walking around in a trance-like state) and not the pedantic Arnim who played the main part in the editing of *Des Knaben Wunderhorn*.

Brentano's name is rightly inseparable from this artistic, chaotic collection of songs, this arbitrary anthology of old German people's songs, based on no particular principles or organisation, with Brentano's own songs interspersed here and there. *Des Knaben Wunderhorn* is an extremely important document of the time.

Uta Gote

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 8 September 1978)

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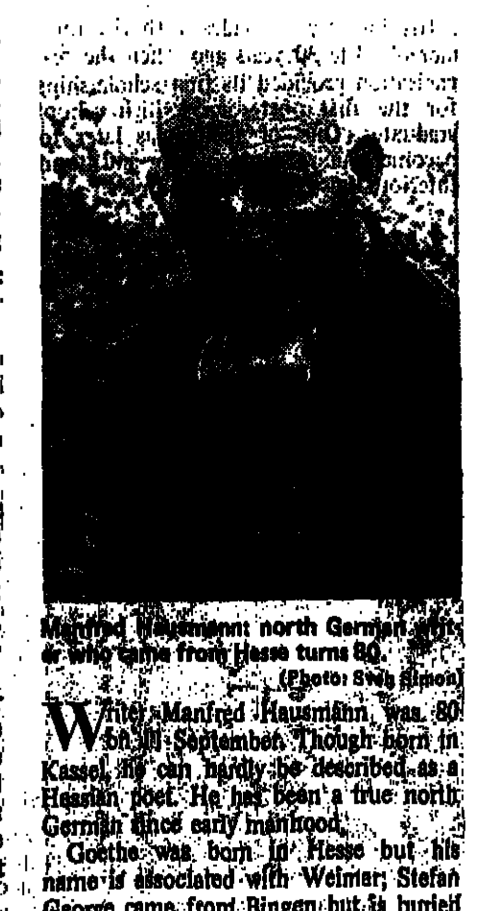
world première. Twenty-three brass instruments, drums, piano and other instruments describe West Berlin scenes in an overture and five miniature pieces: the senator's disappointement at meagre subsidies from Bonn, an old couple in Meinekestrasse, the Exil restaurant in the Turkish area and, as the finale, the senate gallop with ladies. Twelve minutes of charming *petits riens* about music history, subtle orchestral feats, comical trumpet solos and witty combinations.

The opening ceremony in the cellar of the National Gallery between the masterworks of the 20th century and the special exhibition on the circus lasted until the small hours. Senate members and the consular corps all enjoyed the occasion immensely — an auspicious start to the festival.

H. H. Stuckenschmidt

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 11 September 1978)

Authentic north German voice is still heard at 80



Manfred Hausmann: north German writer who came from Hesse turns 80. (Photo: Sven Simon)

Writer Manfred Hausmann was 80 on 10 September. Though born in Kassel, he can hardly be described as a Hessian poet. He has been a true north German since early manhood.

Goethe was born in Hesse but his name is associated with Weimar; Stefan George came from Bingen but is buried in Minusio. Goethe's Frankfurt patrician

Frankfurter Neue Presse

and George's Rhine Hesse vintner background had important influences, but Hesse has not had a comparable influence on Hausmann's life.

Hausmann started work for the *Weserzeitung* in Bremen at 26 and at 29 began his career as a freelance and very successful writer. Before that as a young Ph.D. he had tried his luck for a year as playwright in Hohentwiel on Lake Constance. But the mood of his work is north German, not only in works such as *Worpsweder Hirtenspiel* (Worpswede Shepherds' Play) and *Fischbeker Wandteppich* (The Fischbek Tapestry). Hausmann lives in Rönnebek in Bremen, right next to the water where he can hear the plaintive sound of the ships' sirens.

North Germany is also present in *Lampion, küsst Mädchen und kleine Birken*, even though there are scenes on the Rhine and the Danube.

In 1931, before there was any danger of an Americanisation of Germany, he wrote *Kleine Liebe zu Amerika*, and now on his 80th birthday a collection of 13 new short stories has been published by the Neukirchener Verlag entitled *Bis nördlich von Jan Mayen*. The locations of the stories ranges from Copenhagen to the Arctic Sea.

Hausmann's books have sold well: 250,000 copies of *Martin, Geschichten einer glücklichen Welt*, 150,000 copies of *Isabel, Geschichten um eine Mutter*. Even his poems and translations and adaptations of poems from the Japanese and Chinese sold tens and twenty thousands.

Unlike his contemporary Bergengruen, who attempted to create an intact world in memory or at least in poetry, Hausmann says: "Strange to say happiness, the excess of happiness, did not bring peace to my soul but unrest and sadness. Even at its most beautiful the world was not perfect, not intact, ultimately not consoling."

He called a collection of his poems *Füreinander* (For One Another), a novel *Liebende leben von der Vergebung* (Lovers live from forgiveness) and a collection of essays *Einer muss wachen* (Someone must keep watch.) The titles indicate that Hausmann is an ordained preacher of a protestant parish. He did not regard his work as a journalist merely as a means of earning a living. For him the pulpit and the desk are the same.

(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 7 September 1978)

■ EDUCATION

Geography still seeks its own territory

Said one farmer recently: "Did you say geographers? Aren't they the people who run around with a stick with marks and drill for oil? "

The farmer's idea is obviously wrong. He got it when a group of students of the Brunswick Technical University criss-crossed his fields looking for signs of former settlements.

But it is also doubtful whether any one of those 20-odd students could clearly define the subject geography.

Hardly any subject (including sociology) has been so hard put to arrive at a self-definition as geography in the past 20 years.

Does geography fall under social studies or is it one of the natural sciences? Is geography a metascience, encompassing many other disciplines, or is it a conglomerate of various fields of research?

The discussion concerning substance and methodology of geography has markedly changed the picture of the professional geographer and revolutionised curricula at institutions of higher learning. The impulse for this long overdue reflection of the geographer's own position came from without. For the past 15 years pressure from other disciplines of science on geography has increased. At secondary schools geography has been displaced by other disciplines, as for instance sociology. In extramural practical life it was primarily graduates of applied disciplines who came to the fore as competitors of geographers (for instance in the field of empirical social studies).


Geography class in a German school: the subject is still struggling towards self-definition. (Photo: Archiv)

In its retreat, geography was lucky that new problem areas came to the fore, providing a field of activities for geographers. Among these areas are city planning, protection of the environment and Third World problems. Through these related fields, geography regained some of the lost ground in secondary school curricula and in practical application.

New methods and substances have led to a complex course of study in geography. Studying geography "on the side", so to speak as a by-product of teacher training, has become virtually impossible. And yet, employment as a pure geography teacher is also virtually impossible due to unemployment among teachers.

The labour market situation is anything but rosy — even for graduate geographers. Those hoping to find a "Geographer Wanted" ad in the classified sections of the press will be sorely disappointed.

But those who have completed thorough social and/or natural science studies still stand some chance of finding employment in the fields of city planning, environment protection, landscape planning and in various other specialised sectors of government administration.

It has repeatedly been suggested that geography be subdivided into "social geography" and "physical geography".

University students are confronted with this choice at the latest after completion of basic studies. In majoring, they have to opt for one or the other of these fields.

Experience in the past few years shows that it is primarily those graduates who have had a sound education in social studies who have good career prospects. But other combinations, as for instance with biology or chemistry, are in demand in the field of environment protection.

The curricula — and this includes the training of teachers — are in a process of reorientation.

While formerly the basic study emphasised related natural science disciplines, apart from what was known as "introduction to geography", the emphasis now lies on social studies. Introductory courses in geology and mineralogy used to be compulsory. Today, basic studies in geography are supplemented by sociology and empirical social research.

An exemplary curriculum for geography does not exist as yet. In the meantime, however, the student should attend lectures in the fields of social and physical geography, as for instance:

— An introduction to the theoretical problems of geography;
— An introduction to sociology;
— An introduction to geology;
— An introduction to cartography;
— Seminars on physical geography;
— Seminars on social geography.

This should be supplemented by field work in the sectors of physical and social geography.

Depending on what a university has to offer, the main course of study would serve to promote specialisation.

After (at least) eight semesters, the studies would culminate in a diploma based on written and oral examinations.

A course of study leading to a diploma would be much broader than general teacher training in which the student has to minor in one other subject.

Gerhard Bessenec
(Die Welt, 6 September 1978)

Go abroad plea to students

Education Ministry State Secretary Jochimsen has again appealed to students to make more use of chances of studying abroad, former appeals having attracted little notice.

Are the university students of 1978 less mobile than their predecessors of the "sceptical generation?" Or do they feel that tourism can be substituted for the first-hand experience gained by studying abroad for a few semesters?

One of the main reasons for the conspicuous immobility lies in the admission system. Some universities got rid of students who wanted to go abroad by expulsion; and many a student abroad was constantly plagued by the worry about new restrictions that might be introduced at home.

A major obstacle is the uncertainty concerning the recognition of credits earned abroad.

Due to new legislation, German universities have been obliged to develop new curricula which overtax university teachers to such an extent that they simply no longer have the time to concern themselves with the problems of integrating students who have studied abroad.

The "Big-lift Project", tabled by the Hesse CDU politician Schwarz-Schilling five years ago, whereby hundreds of thousand of German high school graduates would study at American universities, proved unrealistic. Since then, foreign restrictive measures (for European students as well) have become more stringent. This makes small steps towards improving the international circulation of students even more important.

The "Integrated Foreign Study Programme" of the Ministry of Education and the German Academic Exchange Service could provide a beginning.

The fact that only one per cent of government subsidised German students made use of the opportunity of studying abroad for a year is shocking.

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 4 September 1978)

Academics put up bridges to Rumania

Frankfurter Allgemeine

Largely unnoticed by the public, academic relations between the Federal Republic of Germany and Rumania have developed favourably during the past few years.

More than 600 university teachers and young scientists from Rumania have been able to accept German invitations since the early sixties — 160 with one-year stipends and 350 for the purpose of scientific studies.

Moreover, the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) was able to arrange ("not without difficulties") brief information and study trips for 30 Rumanian scientists and students groups totalling 900 with the primary aim of "generally getting to know Germany."

On the other hand, 550 German university teachers, young scientists and university students took part in exchange programmes, primarily for language and literature courses.

The first meeting of former Rumanian and German exchange students and teachers under the DAAD programme will take place in the Bucharest University Centre on 11 September.

Cooperation between German and Rumanian universities, serving not only the exchange of students and teachers but also long-term research projects, also showed a positive development.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 5 September 1978)

Study foundation looks back on proud record

Heinz Haerten, until 1970 head of Germany's largest scholarship organisation, *Studienstiftung des deutschen Volkes*, which today supports 4,000 students, turned 70 on 5 September.

His birthday coincides with the memorable date 30 years ago when the organisation provided its first scholarships for the first post-war 51 high school graduates. One of them was later to become a university professor and Bonn Interior Minister: Werner Maihofer.


Heinz Haerten, celebrating a double anniversary. (Photo: privat)

DIE WELT

The organisation was founded in 1925 to promote particularly gifted students. It was closed down in 1933 and re-established by Heinz Haerten in 1948.

Studienstiftung des deutschen Volkes is financed by the federal government, the Länder, municipalities and more than 1,200 private donors.

Some 13,000 students have been awarded scholarships since 1948.

The new beginning — before the currency reform — was aided by the last Prussian and first Lower Saxony Minister of Education, Adolf Grimme, in cooperation with his North Rhine-Westphalia opposite number, Christine Teusch, and the then manager of the Standing Conference of German Cities, Peter van Aubel.

The starting capital of half a million marks, an enourmous sum of money at that time, was obtained by Herr van Aubel through a trick. He called on the cities to transfer some of their virtually worthless reichsmarks to the Foundations. This meant that ten per cent of the money was converted into hard deutschmarks.

The selction of highly gifted students by the organisation has been one of Germany's most successful enterprises in education.

Eberhard Nitschke
(Die Welt, 5 September 1978)

■ MEDICINE

Doctors predict the return of the GP

The first Conference of General Practitioners in Dortmund has forecast the renaissance of the "general practitioner around the corner." This is what the organisers of the conference, the Association of General Practitioners, is aiming at.

Dr Klotz of Darmstadt, chairman of the association, said that not only in Germany but also in America and other European countries people were turning to the general practitioner again "after the boom in apparatus medicine." The general practitioner was there day and night to attend to the needs and cares of his patients.

Klotz said that 70 per cent of all health problems were dealt with by general practitioners, yet the work of the general practitioner was largely neglected in medical training - "a huge blank in the landscape of specialisation." The association's view was that the ideal general practitioner was one who had been trained in general medicine. There should be an adequate number of general practitioners in town and country, they should have a broad basic knowledge of all the branches of medicine and when necessary they should provide patients with the most modern methods of medicine by passing them on to specialists.

There is a long way to go before these demands will be met. The Dortmund conference showed that there were also differences of opinion about how the "blanks" in the training and in-service training of the ideal general practitioner should be filled. About half of the 25,000 general practitioners in this country are members of the association.

Dr Vilmar, chairman of the German Medical Association, said that doctors were "again trying to see patients in the round, in their family, professional and environmental context." General practitioners in particular were thoroughly familiar with the life style and working conditions of their patients which meant they could have an important advisory and preventive function — preventing illnesses from occurring, encouraging patients to live in a more healthy way and thereby reducing the financial burden on the health insurance funds. With the right training general practitioners would be able to tell whether their patients' health problems were psychological or somatic in origin.

Dr Vilmar said that the trend towards specialisation was continuing. This trend began with the extremely high grades to would-be students needed to be admitted to medical courses. Candidates capable of a high level of abstract and theoretical thought were preferred to the more practical, creative and socially committed candidates.

During his training the student was not prepared for the treatment of people but for the treatment of certain illnesses, organs or organ systems at best. Further training as a general practitioner was not hindered by lack of jobs in hospitals and in general practices but by the nature of medical studies, which ensured that fewer and fewer students wanted to become general practitioners.

Medical sociologist Viefhues of Bochum University analysed the call for more humanity in medicine on the one hand and the medicalisation of our everyday life on the other. The medicalisation of society as a result of the march of science could not be reversed. It was not a matter of demedicalisation but of the cultivation of the doctor. Viefhues described the changing role of the doctor, from the worldly wise doctor of the 18th to the educated general practitioner of the 19th century and up to the doctor of today who can explain things rationally and analytically but cannot understand his patients any more.

The reason for this there were fewer shared values in society, the purpose of life was a matter of individual interpretation but medicine had for too long been exclusively converned with analytical and rational models. The assumption was that the general practitioner could be replaced by organ and method specialists.

Viefhues said that biological medicine would continue to be practised according to its laws. Something had to be done about the isolation of the patient and of the doctor.

The number of doctors who retired into the shell of biological research because of their inability to communicate was becoming greater. Communication was something no one could teach them. Instead of being taught clinical medicine by a teacher the student now learnt details which he could use in an examination. The patient was reduced to a "bearer of symptoms", to the sum of measurable parameters. The patient was right to complain about "inhuman medicine."

Viefhues pointed out that various attempts had been made in the past years to change this. The sociology and psychology of medicine had been introduced as parts of the medical training course. Viefhues said that there seemed to be a belief that the mere inclusion of these subjects on the timetables could give medical students the social sensibility and psychological empathy they lacked. The new Psychotherapy Act meant the creation of a new kind of doctor, one specialising in the psychological side of illnesses. The introduction of the "doctor cum psychologist" meant that the doctor was "deprofessionalised". It was a relapse into the days of internal and external medicine. Viefhues proposed that apart from pathological models medical science should develop a typology of "life pictures" related to illnesses and groups of illnesses.

With the help of this typology the general practitioner could look at the patient's problems and advise him on the kind of life he ought to lead, without imposing alien ideologies or explanations on him. As a specialist in general medicine he would be able to use his knowledge of biology, sociology and psychology and combine it with his knowledge of the patient. He would thus be a doctor of whom the patient could say: "He did not specialise in something, he specialised in me."

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 8 September 1978)

■ ANNIVERSARY

One man's epic canoe battle against the Atlantic

The sensational Atlantic crossing in a balloon by three Americans has revived public interest in other spectacular crossings. While Charles Lindbergh's 1927 flight will always hold pride of place, other single-handed "pond-hoppers" have also attempted to conquer the ocean. Fifty years ago, one of them even made it in a folding canoe — German Captain Franz Romer. His feat was emulated in 1957 by a German doctor.

It was a cold February day in 1928 when merchant navy Captain Franz Romer left the office of the Hamburg America Line (Hapag), grumbling softly to himself.

He had expected more understanding from the company executives who were not even prepared to let him have a vacation to realise his plan. "Be sensible, Captain Romer," the director had said. "No-one can cross the Atlantic in a canoe. What you want to do is suicidal."

But the folding canoe factory Klepper in Rosenheim, Upper Bavaria, had more understanding for Captain Romer. They were prepared to give the 28-year old a chance, although they knew that an Atlantic crossing in such a frail craft bordered on lunacy.

Giving the specifications of the craft a great deal of thought, Klepper went to work on a stable boat. The first trials were carried out on a nearby lake and worked out to Romer's full satisfaction.

Back in Hamburg, everything was checked over minutely. On 8 March 1928 Romer and his boat *Wangoni* arrived in Lisbon, the point of departure.

While Romer made some last minute preparations, the German colony in Lisbon did everything to make his last days on the European mainland as pleasant as possible — primarily because they considered him doomed.

Provisions for 110 days were carefully stowed in the six-meter boat (*Wangoni* had a beam of 96cm).

The food alone weighed 220 kilos. On top of this, the *Wangoni* carried five square meters of sail (space for a spare sail also had to be found), 25 kilos of kerosene, a kerosene cooker and navigational instruments, etc. The total cargo amounted to 600 kilos.

On 28 March 1928 the news that Franz Romer had cast off for an Atlantic crossing in a canoe was broadcast world-wide.

Romer's voyage started badly, and he ran into a gale on his first day out. The small folding canoe battled huge waves, and Captain Romer was unable to sleep for days on end, nor did he find a moment's respite to have a bite to eat. His face, lashed by the sea, was raw.

After five days of gales, he arrived in Sagres on the southern tip of Portugal. There, he first had his fill of sleep, casting off again on 17 April, encouraged by the crowds that lined the pier.

Once again, he met with huge seas. *An icy rain pelted him, and despite his* many years at sea he became seasick.

Although the small cockpit in which he sat was protected by a tarpaulin, only his torso being exposed, water entered the boat and the small bilge pump gave up the ghost. When the gale subsided many days later, Romer had to use old tins to bail out his craft, collapsing frequently. At last, after more than a week, he managed to get some sleep, waking up near Arrecife on the island of Lanzarote in the Canaries. It was the 27th of April when he went ashore, where he slept for 48 hours without a break. On 10 June, a huge gathering of people accompanied him to the harbour of Las Palmas, and the cathedral bells tolled as he boarded his boat at 3.00 p.m., hoisting the German and American flags and casting-off accompanied by the national anthems of both countries. The immensity of the Atlantic lay before him. The first days seemed promising.

The sea was moderate and he made good progress. A favourable wind enabled him to put up the small sail, and even a ten-hour thunderstorm did nothing to lower his courage.

But new dangers lay ahead. A school of porpoises surrounded the frail boat for hours on end, becoming increasingly more adventurous. Frequently they gambolled directly under his keel, threatening to upset the boat.

Pursued by a swordfish, he managed to escape knowing that an attack by the huge fish would mean the end.

In defence, he made as much noise as he could with empty tins, hoping to scare the beast away.

He slept fitfully for a few minutes at a time; at night he shone his torch onto the swordfish to drive it away.

With it all, the weather remained benign and the wind abaft, enabling him to average 50 nautical miles from noon to noon.

Even so, his spirit flagged, and the loneliness took its toll. His face broke out in blisters from the sun, and the pain was aggravated by the constant salt water spray.

Captain Romer suffered particularly from having to sit in the same position day and night and weeks on end. There was no room to lie down and his buttocks resembled an underdone steak.

On 18 July, he met the Yugoslav steamer *Epidauro* and went on board. The crew supplied him with drinking water, fruit and tinned food, leaving him to his own devices after an hour.

Three days later, he suffered a malaria attack with the attendant high fever.

Fifty-four days after leaving Las Palmas, Franz Romer found himself again in a severe gale, and he had to tie himself to his nutshell. He was too exhausted to fight against the elements and lay ahull, letting the boat look after itself and him.

A St. Thomas (West Indies) fisherman sighted the boat and its sole crew member on 30 July, and the American press marvelled at the feat. The news spread like wildfire on the little island, and no sooner did Romer set foot ashore than the first radio message was dispatched. "Captain Romer arrived exhausted in St. Thomas after a 58-day single-handed Atlantic crossing."

Franz Romer was quartered in the house of US Governor Evans, where he again slept for 48 hours without a break. He then got up, had a bath and went back to sleep for another 24 hours.

The shave he got from a barber was a torture because his face was raw from wind and sun.

He had succeeded in crossing the Atlantic, and the voyage from St. Thomas to the American mainland seemed to be a bagatelle compared with the ordeal that lay behind him.

Franz Romer took *off for the main*land, helped along by an outboard, while the American band played *Muss i denn, muss i denn, zum Städtele hinaus* (the traditional German parting song).

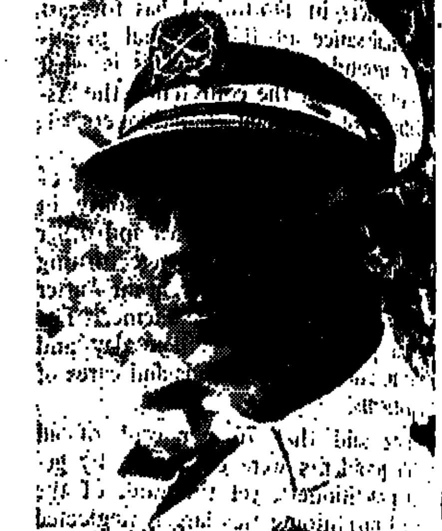
New York was preparing for the traditional Broadway ticker-tape parade, Captain Franz Romer having arrived in San Juan, Puerto Rico, on 9 September.

Two days later, he continued his voyage and was overtaken by a hurricane in the night from 13 to 14 September 1928.

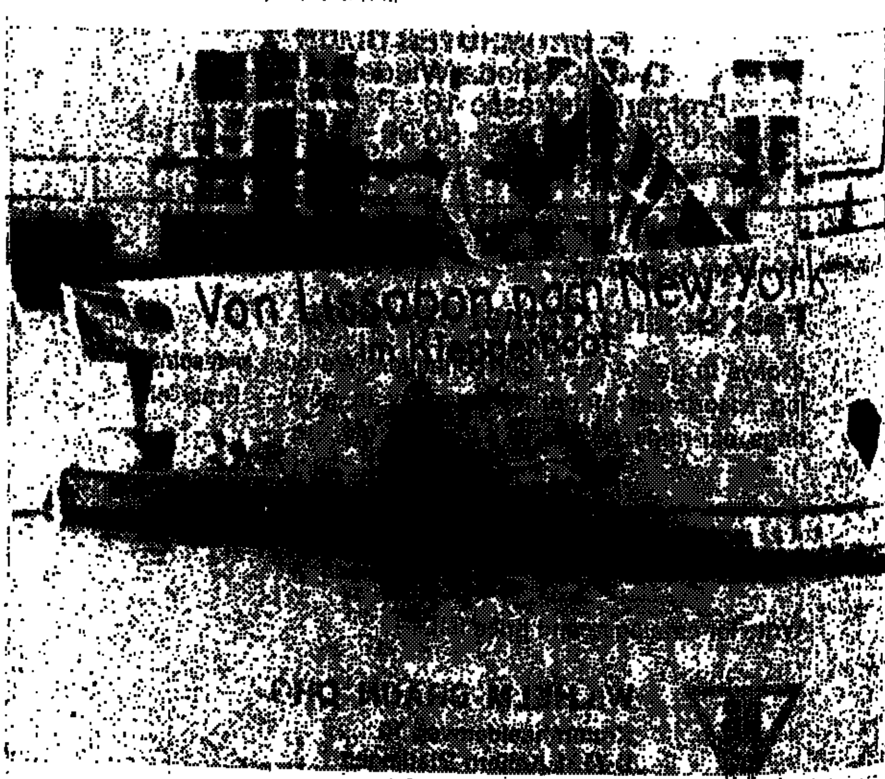
This was his last battle against the elements, and Captain Franz Romer was lost at sea.

Ossi Brucker

(Kieler Nachrichten, 7 September 1978)



Franz Romer, across the Atlantic in a folding canoe.



The folding canoe that took Franz Romer through the worst the Atlantic had to offer. (Photos: dpa)



A certain smile

Justice department official Dagmar Kronlab, 23, of Hamm, has enigmatically smiled herself to fame in a competition organised in the city of Duisburg to find someone with the Mona Lisa smile. She was the unanimous choice of a jury of six and, like the anonymous wife of an Italian businessman who has enchanted millions in the Louvre, her oil portrait is also to go on display — in the Duisburger Wilhelm-Lehmbruck Museum. The museum is mounting an exhibition called Mona Lisa in the 20th Century from 24 September to 3 December and organised the competition to publicise it. The jury received 418 entries from all over Europe, including the Federal Republic of Germany, Denmark, France, Holland and Switzerland. The youngest entrant was a nine-month-old baby girl. (Photo: dpa)

■ SPORT

German hockey earns anniversary present



The West German hockey team could hardly have hoped for a finer anniversary present when on 10 September, six years to the day after winning Olympic gold at Munich, they won their second European championship title in Hanover.

Again their opponents were the Dutch, as they were eight years ago in Brussels. In the 1970 European finals it was a 3-1 win; this time the home team scraped home 3-2, but it was a glorious victory.

"I'm so thrilled we've won," coach Klaus Kleiter said. He has taken harsh criticism in recent months, with the team being accused of stonewalling and playing no-risk, no-fun hockey.

But in Hanover, certainly in the final stages of the tournament, the team seemed to remember this criticism.

In the first half of the final they played as one man, with fantastic teamwork, sheer artistry in ball control, one shot at goal after another.

And they scored while they were on top, three times in succession. Rainer Seifert's opening goal in the fifth minute was a beauty. He dribbled from one end of the pitch to the other, outwitting the Dutch backs as though they were corner flags, and netted the ball in an effortless one-man show.

Seifert also played a part in the second goal, which Hanover outside left Wistuba put in a minute later. But Seifert fluffed a further five simple goal chances. Still, Wistuba scored again in the 19th minute.

After this thrilling first half the second was a grim struggle to keep the lead. The Dutch comeback began with a dubious decision by referee Jewell of Australia.

Strödter was guilty of a minor foul in the 29th minute, but it hardly warranted the penalty corner awarded. Dutch goal-scoring ace Paul Litjens made no mistake.

Litjens, who scored more goals than any other player in the European tournament, narrowed the German lead to 3-2 in the 54th minute. It was his 16th goal in seven fixtures.

M. Segui, the French referee, then made a serious mistake in awarding the Dutch a penalty from the seven-metre mark which could easily have sunk the home team after such a promising start.

But justice was done. Litjens' shot was a little on the weak side and Cologne goalie Klaus Ludwiczak managed to ward it off.

Peter Caninenberg of Munich was particularly delighted. He had been forced by a Spanish foul in the semi-final to retire with a gaping eyebrow gash and looked like missing the final.

Moment of triumph: German hockey players exult in their victory over Holland to clinch the European championship. (Photo: Werek)

But he was in there at the finish and afterwards said his eye had never worried him.

Two days later he and goalie Franz Schweisz, who deputised for Ludwiczak once during the championship, took part in a dual celebration at Munich town hall.

The Munich gala was held for Caninenberg, Schweisz and their SC Munich teammates who ended last season by gaining promotion to the Bundesliga, or senior league.

But these two were also hailed as members of the national team and European champions.

Hanspeter Detmer

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 11 September 1978)

Junior jumpers reach new heights

High-jumpers Carlo Thränhardt, André Schneider and Dietmar Mögenburg starred at the junior athletics championships in Ulm over the second weekend in September, all clearing 2.23m (7ft 3 1/4in).

Brigitte Holzapfel from Leverkusen won the women's junior high-jump with a height of 1.90m (6ft 2 3/4in), two inches less than the jump that won her a bronze medal at the European amateur athletics championships in Prague the week before.

Martin Weppler from Stuttgart, who won gold in the 4x400 metres relay team at Prague, cut his time over the distance in Ulm to 45.78 seconds, which makes him the seventh-fastest European over 400 metres this season.

Werner Zasker from Saarbrücken, who four weeks ago became the youngest senior champion, set a new personal best of 10.42 seconds to win the 100 metres. Werner Bastians from Wattenscheid came second in 10.53 seconds.

There were no highlights in Olten, Switzerland, where the athletics B team took part in a three-cornered international tournament.

They won uninspiringly, with 145 points to Switzerland's 141 and Yugoslavia's 135, coming first in seven individual events. But the best performance of the tournament was by European record-holder Nenad Stekic of Yugoslavia with a long jump of 8.00 m (26ft 3in).

The women shot putters were in fine fettle at a sports festival in Munich. Helena Filbingerova, the Czech world record-holder, won with a putt of 21.65m (68ft 10in).

Eva Wilms from Fürth was runner-up with 19.83m (63ft 2in), while American Maren Seidler, the second-best woman shot-putter in the West, came third with a new US record of 18.96m (60ft 4in).

In the long-jump, US Olympic gold medallist Arnie Robinson cleared 8.12m (26ft 7 1/2in), beating fellow-countryman Anthony Carter (7.93m or 26ft 1/4in) into second place. Third came European champion Jacques Rousseau of France with 7.79m (25ft 6 3/4in).

Krystyna Kacperczyk of Poland also did well with a time of 55.76 seconds in the women's 400 metres hurdles.

So did Ben Fields of the United States and Ulrike Meyfarth from Leverkusen, with 2.25m (7ft 4 1/2in) and 1.86m (6ft 1 1/4in) respectively in the high jump, and Woychiech Buciarski of Poland with 5.50m (17ft 8 1/2in) in the long jump.

In Luxembourg, Thomas Wessinghage from Mainz ran the mile in 3 min. 58.8 sec. to beat Jose Marajo of France (3 min. 59.2 sec.) into second place.

But the highlight of the Luxembourg meeting was the 200 metres in which Jamaica's Olympic gold medallist Don Quarrie crossed the tape in a hand-timed 20.2 seconds.

(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 11 September 1978)

Another name on grand prix tombstone

Every accident in Formula 1 grand prix motor racing points an accusing finger at the sport but nothing happens because grand prix is big business.

It takes a really serious accident such as the tragic death of Ronnie Peterson in the Italian grand prix at Monza for there to be any discussion of the point of the carnage. But it subsides soon enough.

Grand prix deaths over 10 or 20 years may be noted, with no pause for thought. In this a turn for the worse? Maybe, but it does not seem to worry the drivers.

They know what they are letting themselves in for when they sign on the dotted line: nerves sold for cash, blood sold for cash, possibly their lives.

But the cash is plentiful. Niki Lauda of Austria earns a good DM2m a year. It is strictly death or glory (and a healthy bank account).

TV commentator Rolf Kramer said on 10 September after Peterson's death that he was anything but happy to break the news, but news was news.

This is a half-baked argument. If television did not report the accident motor racing sponsors would soon call it a day. Their advertising has to be seen on TV to be worth the investment that has prevented many other sporting events being seen by viewers.

Niki Lauda was once asked why he had raced past a British driver burning alive at Zandvoort in 1973. "I am paid for driving, not parking," he said cynically.

Whatever one's views about racing drivers, the last sentiment they deserve is sympathy. They neither want it nor deserve it, as Lauda's words make clear.

Wolfgang Golz

(Hamburger Abendblatt, 11 September 1978)